PLUTARCH's LIVES:

VOLUME *the* EIGHTH.

CONTAINING

DION.
MARCUS BRUTUS.
ARTAXERXES
ARATUS.
GALBA.
OTHO.

Tranſlated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Hiſtorical and Critical*
From M. *DACIER.*

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THE LIFE OF DION.

THE *Trojans*, as *Simonides* reports, were not angry with the *Corinthians* for joining their Forces with the other *Greeks* in the Confederate Expedition againſt them, becauſe *Glaucus* King of *Lycia*, whoſe Anceſtors were originally of *Corinth*, frankly engaged on their ſide, and brought them Aid to *Troy*: So neither can the *Romans* or *Græcians* be juſtly diſpleaſed with the *Academy*, (1) by which Both of them have been equally favoured, as will appear from this Hiſtorical Account of the Lives of *Brutus* and *Dion*. For One of them was contemporary and familiarly converſant with *Plato*, and the Other from his Youth Educated in his Philoſophy. So that they had the ſame Inſtitution, on which they built their great Atchievements, and ſet out (as it were) from the ſame Liſts to run their

(1) For if the Academy produced *Dion* for the Deliverance of *Sicily*, ſo did ſhe *Brutus* for That of *Rome*.

Race of Honour. Nor need we wonder if by the near Reſemblance and Affinity of their Actions, they confirm that Maxim of their beloved Guide in the Ways of Virtue, who ſaith (1) that without a mutual concurrence of Power and Succeſs, joined and tempered with Juſtice and Prudence, nothing great and glorious can be accompliſhed in the managery of Publick Affairs. For as *Hyppomachus* the Wreſtler affirmed, (2) he could by their Port diſtinguiſh his Scholars at a great diſtance, (3) tho' they were but carrying Meat from the Shambles; ſo it is very probable, that the ingenious Sentiments of Thoſe who have had good Education do alike influence their Actions, and create in them a gentile Demeanor, very agreeable and becoming.

Now we may draw a Parallel of the Lives of theſe two great Men from their Fortunes, wherein Chance, not Deſign, made them much alike, for they were Both cut off by an untimely Death, not being able to accompliſh thoſe Ends which through many Riſques and Difficulties they aimed at. But above all, This is moſt wonderful: that by Divine

(1) This Sentiment of *Plato*'s is very juſt, and noble. It is This Aſſemblage, or Conjunction only, which can form the perfect Stateſman. His Prudence, and Juſtice will little avail him without Power, and his Power will be ineffectual unleſs his Deſigns and Undertakings are crowned with Succeſs. Tho' in general Juſtice and Prudence are the ſure Fore-runners of Proſperity and Succeſs.

(2) This is very common. A Dancing-Maſter at the firſt ſight of a Man can tell if he has learnt to Dance, and if he has been taught in His School. For every Maſter gives his Scholars a particular Turn and Air. This Compariſon in *Plutarch* is extream proper. Reaſon, that is the Maſter, infuſeth into every Action of her Scholars a peculiar Decency and Harmony, and a Behaviour that viſibly diſcovers to an obſerving Eye under Whom they have been educated.

(3) This was a cuſtomary thing among the *Grecians*, they went Themſelves to the Markets; which is a Circumſtance that cannot appear ſtrange to Thoſe who have read the Characters of *Theophraſtus*.

Permiſſion

Permiſſion Both of them had notice given of their approaching Death by a frightful and ominous *Dæmon*, which viſibly appeared to them. Altho' there are a ſort of Men who utterly deny any ſuch thing, and ſay, that no Man in his right Wits ever ſaw a Phantom or Apparition; but that Children only, and ſilly Women, or Men crazed by ſome Diſtemper of their Mind, or Diſeaſe of their Body, entertain ſuch idle and abſurd Fancies, over-fondly conceiting themſelves haunted with Spirits and Goblins. (1) Yet if *Dion* and *Brutus*, Men of great Courage and Learning, not eaſily deluded by Fancy, or diſcompos'd by any ſudden Apprehenſion, were ſo diſturbed at theſe Viſions, that they forthwith declared to their Friends what they had ſeen; I know not how we can avoid admitting again That Opinion of the Ancients (2) how abſurd ſoever it may appear, That the Devils and evil Spirits, out of an envious Hatred to good Men, vigorouſly oppoſe whatever they do; and by raiſing Diſtractions and Terrors in the Mind, endeavour to

(1) It is moſt certain that the Teſtimony of two Perſons of known Senſe and Probity is ſufficient to gain Credit to Things, which, conſidered in themſelves, ſeem moſt incredible. Nevertheleſs we are not to believe thoſe ſort of Apparitions becauſe *Dion* and *Brutus* affirmed that a Phantom appeared to Them, becauſe it may be alledged that They were liable to be deceived as well as Others, but we are to believe them upon Teſtimonies more ſure and infallible.

(2) With *Plutarch*'s leave it is by no means an abſurd Opinion, but ſuch a one as no wiſe Man can refuſe aſſenting to. But the Queſtion is inverted here by *Plutarch*. It does not turn upon this Point, whether there really be evil Spirits who ſet themſelves againſt good Men, and endeavour to hinder, or withdraw them from the Purſuit, and Practice of Virtue. This is an inconteſtable Truth eſtabliſhed by the Authority of Religion; but the Matter in queſtion is, if thoſe Spirits ever appear to Men under ſuch horrible Figures as have been repreſented, and I am of Opinion that it is a Fact of which no doubt is to be made, after ſo many undeniable Teſtimonies of it, which abound in Antiquity. It muſt be confeſſed that it is a Point very liable to Impoſture, They have not appeared to All, who pretend to have ſeen them.

ſhake and undermine their Virtue, leſt by a ſteady and unbyaſſed Perſeverance in Goodneſs, they ſhould after Death obtain a happier Condition of futurity than thoſe wretched Beings can ever hope for. But I ſhall refer theſe things to another place, and in this Twelfth Book of the Lives of great Men, compared one with another, begin with His who was the elder.

Dionyſius the Firſt, having ſeized on the Government of *Sicily*, took to Wife the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, a *Syracuſian.* She, in an Inſurrection which the Citizens made before the Government was well ſettled, was abuſed in ſuch a barbarous and outragious manner, that for ſhame thereof ſhe put an end to her own Life. But *Dionyſius*, being ſoon re-eſtabliſhed and confirmed in the Throne, married two Wives, One named *Doris* a Native of *Locris*, the Other *Ariſtomache*, Daughter of *Hypparinus*, a Nobleman of the firſt Quality in *Syracuſe*, and Collegue with *Dionyſius* when he was choſen General of the Army. It is ſaid he married them Both in one Day, but Which he enjoyed firſt is uncertain; ever after he divided his Kindneſs equally betwixt them, Both accompanying him together at his Table, and in his Bed by turns. Indeed the *Syracuſians* were urgent that their own Country-woman might be preferred before the Stranger; but *Doris*, to recompence the Aſperſion of being a Foreigner, had the good Fortune to be the Mother of *Dionyſius*'s eldeſt Son, whilſt *Ariſtomache* continued a long time without Iſſue, tho' the King was very deſirous to have Children by her, and cauſed *Doris*'s Mother to be put to death, laying to her Charge, that ſhe had bewitched *Ariſtomache*, to prevent Conception.

Dion was *Ariſtomache*'s Brother, and at firſt found a very Honourable Reception at Court, for his Siſter's ſake; but his own Worth and Parts

ſoon

ſoon procured him a nearer Place in the Prince's Affection, who among other Favours gave ſpecial Command to his Treaſurers to furniſh *Dion* with whatever Money he demanded, enjoyning them withal the ſame Day to give him a particular Account of what they had delivered to him. Now, tho' *Dion* was before reputed a Perſon of extraordinary Parts, a noble Mind, and daring Courage, yet all theſe excellent Qualifications received a conſiderable Improvement by *Plato*'s happy Arrival in *Sicily*. It was without doubt no Human Contrivance, but the Direction of Providence, deſigning that this remote Cauſe ſhould hereafter occaſion the Recovery of the *Sicilians* loſt Liberty, and the Subverſion of the Tyrannical Government, which brought the Philoſopher out of *Italy*, and ſettled him at *Syracuſe*. *Dion* ſoon gained his Acquaintance, and became the moſt conſiderable among his Scholars, by his wonderful Diſpoſition to Learning, and Inclination to Virtue, far above what his Years could promiſe, (1) as *Plato* himſelf reports of him, and his own Actions ſufficiently teſtifie. For tho' he was bred up under the Tyrant in a Condition much below himſelf, inured to a diſſolute and ſervile kind of Life, under a haughty and imperious Command, glutted with extravagant Pleaſures, and a cuſtomary regard to nothing but Wealth and Luxury, (the miſtaken Happineſs of Life;) yet no ſooner had he taſted the Sweets of more rational Notions, and was made acquainted with the Precepts of Philoſophy, which direct the

(1) It is in his ſeventh Letter, where he ſaith in expreſs terms, *For my part when I converſed with* Dion, *who was then very young, when I explained to him ſuch Things as I thought were the beſt and moſt adapted to the Nature of Man and exhorted him to the Practice of them. I little thought I was then inſenſibly opening a way to the total ſubverſion of the Tyranny. For he was of a docile Temper, and took with ſuch Readineſs and Vivacity whatever was ſaid to him, that I never ſaw any young Man worthy to be compared with him.*

way

way to Virtue and true Satisfaction, but his Appetite increaſed, and his Soul was inflamed with a Deſire of more Knowledge, and greater Attainments: Hereupon innocently, tho' not judiciouſly, concluding from his own ingenuous Diſpoſition, that the ſame powerful Reaſons would work the ſame Effects upon *Dionyſius*, he made it his Buſineſs, and at length obtained the Favour of him at a leiſure Hour to admit and hear *Plato*. At their meeting, the Subject-matter of their Diſcourſe in general was Virtue, but more particularly they diſputed concerning *Fortitude*, which *Plato* proved Tyrants, of all Men, had the leſt pretence to; and thence proceeding to treat of Juſtice, he aſſerted the happy Eſtate of the Juſt, and the miſerable Condition of the Unjuſt. Here the King, touched to the quick, and not able to anſwer his Arguments, would not endure to hear him out, being highly diſpleaſed with the reſt of the Auditors there preſent, who with Wonder and Delight had liſtned to his Diſcourſes. At length, exceedingly exaſperated, he asked the Philoſopher in a great Rage, what Buſineſs he had in *Sicily?* to which *Plato* anſwered, *I came hither to ſeek an honeſt Man: It ſeems then*, replied *Dionyſius you have loſt your Lavour*. *Dion* conceiving that the King's Diſpleaſure would not reſt there, but might poſſibly be attended with more fatal Conſequences, at *Plato*'s Requeſt conveyed him ſuddenly Aboard a Galley, the Captain whereof was named *Pollis*, a *Lacedæmonian*, bound for *Greece*; but *Dionyſius* privately preſſed *Pollis* by all means to kill *Plato* in the Voyage, or at leaſt to ſell him for a Slave; *For*, ſaid he, *it will be doing Him no Injury, ſince according to his own Maxims, being a juſt Man, he will be as happy in a ſtate of Slavery as he can be in a free Condition*. *Pollis* therefore, as it is reported, carried *Plato* to *Ægina*, and there ſold him to the *Æginetes*, who

who were then at War with *Athens*, and had made a Decree, That whatever *Athenian* was taken on their Coasts, should forthwith be exposed to Sale. Notwithstanding all This *Dion* was in no less Favour and Credit with *Dionysius* than formerly, but was entrusted with the most considerable Employments, and sent on an Honourable Embassage to *Carthage*.

This Voyage served very much to raise his Credit and Reputation, and gave him still a greater share in the Friendship and Confidence of *Dionysius*, insomuch that the Tyrant bore very patiently the Liberty he took with him, allowing him to speak his Mind freely, and without any Reserve. Of This we have an instance in the smart Repartee he one day gave *Dionysius*, who ridiculing *Gelo*'s Government, and alluding to his Name, said, Gelo *was* [Γέλως] *the Laughing-stock of* Sicily; while Others seemed to admire and applaud the Quibble, *Dion* very warmly replied, *Sir, you got the Crown,* (1) *by being trusted for* Gelo's *sake; but for your sake no Man will ever be trusted hereafter; for indeed* Gelo *made it appear, that Monarchy was the best of Governments, and You have convinced us that it is the worst.*

Dionysius had three Children by *Doris*, and Four by *Aristomache*, Two of which were Daughters named *Sophrosyne* and *Arete*. *Sophrosyne* was married to his eldest Son *Dionysius*, whom he had by *Doris* the *Locrian*, and *Arete* to his Brother *Theaarides*; after whose Death, *Dion* took his Neice *Arete* to Wife. Now when *Dionysius* was sick, and like to die, (2) *Dion* endeavoured to discourse with him

(1) The *Syracusians* were so charmed with *Gelo*'s Probity and Justice that they were easily disposed to submit to *Dionysius* in hopes of being governed by a just and gracious Monarch, which indeed is the most desirable and most perfect of all Governments.

(2) *Dion*'s design was to prevail with him to prefer his Children by *Aristomache*, who was a *Syracusian* by Birth, to Those by *Doris*

him in behalf of the Children he had by *Ariſtomache*; but the Phyſicians, deſigning thereby to ingratiate themſelves with the next Succeſſor, were too quick for him; for, as *Timæus* reports, the Prince having demanded ſomething to make him ſleep, they prepared for him ſo ſtrong a Doſe that it ſoon deprived him of his Senſes, and made him ſleep his laſt.

Immediately upon the Death of his Father the young *Dionyſius* ſummoned a Council, conſiſting of his Friends, and Such as he thought were moſt in his Intereſt. There *Dion* diſcourſed ſo well upon the preſent Exigency and State of Affairs, that he made all the reſt appear in their Politicks but young Stateſmen; and in their Votes, rather Slaves than Counſellors, who timorouſly and diſingenuouſly adviſed what would beſt pleaſe the young King, rather than advance his Intereſt. But That which ſtartled them moſt, was the Propoſal he made to avert the imminent Danger they feared of a War with the *Carthaginians*, undertaking to ſail immediately over into *Africk*, and if the King deſired it, to conclude a Peace upon honourable Terms; but if he rather inclined to War, that he would fit out and maintain at his own proper Coſt and Charges fifty Gallies, ready for the Service. *Dionyſius* admired his Gallantry, and received the Frankneſs of his Offer with great Satisfaction. But the other Courtiers, thinking this Generoſity reflected upon Them, and jealous of being leſſened by his growing Greatneſs, from thence took all Occaſions by private Inſinuations and Slanders to render him obnoxious to the King's Diſpleaſure; as if he deſigned by his Power at Sea to ſurprize the Government, and by the help of thoſe Naval

Doris who was a Foreigner; alledging that the Children of a Native were preferable to Thoſe of a Stranger. Beſides *Ariſtomache's* Sons were his own Nephews, and Brothers-in-law.

Forces

Forces confer the ſupream Authority upon his Siſter *Ariſtomache*'s Children. But indeed the moſt apparent and prime Cauſe of their invidious and malicious Proceedings againſt him, was his Reſervedneſs in Converſation, and Singularity in his way of living; for They who had from the beginning by Flatteries and all manner of unworthy Artifices inſinuated themſelves into the Favour and Familiarity of the Prince, youthful and voluptuouſly bred, were wholly ſubſervient to his Pleaſures, and ſought how to entertain him daily with new Amours, and ſuch idle and extravagant Employs, as Wine, Women, and other lewd Diverſions: By which means the Tyranny, like Iron ſoftned in the Fire, ſeemed to the Subject to be more moderate and gentle, and to abate ſomewhat of its extream Severity; the Edge thereof being blunted, not by the Clemency, but rather the Sloth and Degeneracy of the young King; whoſe Diſſoluteneſs gaining Ground daily, and growing upon him, ſoon weakned and broke thoſe Adamantine Chains, with which his Father *Dionyſius* ſaid he had left the Monarchy faſtned and ſecured. It is reported of him, that having begun a drunken Debauch, he continued it ninety Days without Intermiſſion; in all which time no grave Man appeared, no ſerious Diſcourſe was heard at Court, but Drinking, Singing, Dancing, Buffoonry, and all ſorts of licentious Raillery reigned there without Controul. Whilſt they were thus taken up it may eaſily be imagined that they could bear any thing rather than the Preſence of *Dion*, who never indulged himſelf in ſuch Diverſions and Youthful Frolicks; (1) for which reaſon they made

(1) This is the Method conſtantly taken by Thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is to diſcountenance and diſgrace Perſons of Virtue and Integrity, they attribute to their Virtues the Names of thoſe very Vices, which are oppugnant to them, as has been very well explained

made his very Virtues the Subject of their Calumnies, and nick-named whatever was remarkable in him, *Vice*: They called his Gravity Pride, his Plain-dealing Obſtinacy, the good Advice he gave was all conſtrued Reprimand, and he was cenſured for neglecting and ſcorning Thoſe whom he would not accompany in their Miſdemeanours. And to ſay the Truth, he was naturally of a haughty Humour, auſtere, reſerved, and unſociable in Converſation, which made his Company unpleaſant and diſagreeable, not only to the young King, who delighted in none but his ſmooth-tongued Courtiers and Paraſites, but many alſo of *Dion*'s intimate Friends, tho' they well approved the Integrity and Generoſity of his Temper, yet juſtly blamed his ſurly Carriage, as ſavouring too much of an uncooth and ſtarched Humour, and wanting ſomething of Addreſs and due Civility in the Reception of Thoſe who applied themſelves to him; of which *Plato* afterwards wrote to him, and (as it were prophetically) adviſed him carefully to avoid a ſurly Demeanour, unleſs he intended to be abandoned by all Society, and live alone by Himſelf.

Now, tho' *Dion*, by reaſon of the preſent State of Affairs was very conſiderable and in great Eſteem, as being the only Stay and Prop of the Government, which was in a tottering and unſafe Condition; yet he well underſtood that he owed not his Greatneſs to the King's Kindneſs, but to the Neceſſity of his Concerns; and ſuppoſing the prime Cauſe of This to be his Ignorance and want of Education, he endeavoured to induce him into a Courſe of ingenuous Studies, and acquaint him

explained by *Horace*, *Sat.* iii. *lib.* 1.

At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus.

That which follows perfectly agrees with this Paſſage in *Plutarch*, and convinceth us that Scandal and Detraction abound no where ſo much as in the Courts of Princes.

with

with the Precepts of Morality; thereby hoping to take off the Averſion he had to Virtue, and by Degrees inure him to a Complacency in performing good and laudable Actions. *Dionyſius* in his own Nature was not the worſt of Princes, but his Father fearing that if he ſhould come to underſtand himſelf better, and converſe with wiſe and learned Men, he might complot againſt him, and diſpoſſeſs him of his Kingdom, (1) kept him in a cloſe Confinement to his Lodgings; where, for want of other Company, and ignorant how to ſpend his time better, he buſied himſelf in making little Chariots, Candleſticks, Joint-Stools, Tables, and the like wooden Implements. For his Father, *Dionyſius* the Firſt, was ſo diffident and ſuſpicious of all Mankind, and withal ſo wretchedly fearful, that he would not ſuffer a Barber to trim him with Razor or Sciſſers, but made one of his Artificers with a live Coal ſear off his excreſcent Hairs. Neither were his Brother or his Son allowed to come into his Apartment in the Habit they wore, but They, as all Others, were ſtript to their Skins by ſome of the Guard, and put on other Cloaths before they were admitted into the Preſence. When on a time his Brother *Leptines* was explaining the Situation of a Place, and took a Javelin from one of the Guard to deſcribe the Plot, he was highly incenſed at him, and cauſed the Soldier that delivered him the Weapon to be put to Death. He declared, the more judicious his Friends were, the more he ſuſpected them; becauſe he knew, that were it in their choice, they would rather command than be

(1) This is the neceſſary Policy, and Caution of Tyrants: being perfect Strangers to all Humanity, ſo are they likewiſe to all Sentiments of Nature; their Fear, and Ignorance together, give them an utter Averſion to all liberal Education, not only in their Subjects, but their very Children, of whom they are more jealous than of their Subjects.

ſubject-

ſubject to a Superior; he ſlew *Marſyas*, one of his Captains, whom he had preferred to a conſiderable Command, for dreaming that he killed him; ſuppoſing that it was not a roving Fancy, but a previous Thought and reſolved Deſign, which had formed that Idea in his Imagination; ſo timorous was he, ſo miſerable a Slave to his Fear, yet very angry with *Plato*, becauſe he would not allow him to be the valianteſt Man alive.

Dion (as we ſaid before) ſeeing *Dionyſius* the Son defective in his Underſtanding, and irregular in his Manners, for want of good Education, adviſed him to ſet to Study; perſuading him earneſtly to entreat *Plato*, the greateſt Philoſopher in the World, to come into *Sicily*; and when he came, to commit himſelf to his Direction and Advice, by whoſe Inſtructions he might learn to lead a virtuous Life, and be conformable to the glorious Idea of that Divine Eſſence, whoſe wiſe Conduct all things obey, and which out of Confuſion formed the beautiful Order of the Univerſe; by which Means he would procure great Happineſs to Himſelf and all his Subjects; who, obliged by his Juſtice and Moderation, would then willingly pay him Obedience as their Father, which now grudgingly, and upon Neceſſity, they are forced to yield him as their Lord. *For Fear and Force*, ſaid he, *a great Navy and ſtanding Armies, are not (as your Father ſaid) the Adamantine Chains which ſecure the Regal Power, but the Love and Affection of Subjects to their Prince, endeared to him by his Clemency and Juſtice; which, tho' they ſeem more pliant than the ſtiff and hard Bonds of Severity, are nevertheleſs the ſtrongeſt and moſt durable Ties to fix and eſtabliſh a ſettled and laſting Empire: Moreover, it is mean and diſhonourable that a Prince, glorious in his Equipage, and ſplendid in the Galantry and Magnificence of his Court, ſhould not at all excel a Peaſant in Diſcourſe and Converſation,*

verſation, nor have his Princely Mind accompliſhed, as well as his Body adorned, according to his Royal Dignity.

Dion frequently entertaining the King upon this Subject, and as Occaſion offered repeating ſome of the Philoſophers learned Arguments, *Dionyſius* grew impatiently deſirous to have *Plato*'s Company, and to hear him diſcourſe: Forthwith therefore he ſent divers Letters to him to *Athens*, to which *Dion* added His Entreaties; alſo ſeveral Philoſophers of the *Pythagorean* Sect from *Italy* perſuaded him to come and manage the pliable Youth of the King, and by his grave and ſerious Advice reſtrain the unſtable and deſultory Efforts of his new-acquired Power and Grandeur. *Plato* (as he ſays himſelf) being aſhamed to ſeem buſie only in Words, and ſlothful in Action, hoping withal, that if he could work a Cure upon one Man, the Head and Guide of the reſt, he might remedy the Diſtempers of the whole Kingdom of *Sicily*, yielded to their Requeſts.

But *Dion*'s Enemies fearing an Alteration in *Dionyſius*, perſuaded him to recall from Baniſhment one *Philiſtus*, a Learned Man indeed, but very skilful in Tyrannical Policy, whom they deſigned to ſet in Oppoſition to *Plato* and His Philoſophy. For *Philiſtus* from the Beginning was a great Inſtrument to promote the Tyranny, and being Governor of the Caſtle, kept it a long time for that Faction. There was a Report, that he had to do with the Mother of *Dionyſius* the Firſt, and that he was not altogether ignorant of it. But *Leptines* having two Daughters by a married Woman whom he had debauched, gave one of them in Marriage to *Philiſtus*, without acquainting the King, who being enraged, put *Leptines*'s Miſtreſs in Priſon, and baniſhed *Philiſtus*, who thereupon fled to ſome of his Friends at *Adria*, in which Retirement and

Leiſure it is probable (1) he compoſed the greateſt Part of his Hiſtory; for he returned not into his Country during the Reign of that *Dionyſius*.

But after his Death, as is before related, *Dion*'s Enemies occaſioned him to be recalled home, as fitter for their Purpoſe, and a firm Friend to the arbitrary Government, which he immediately upon his Return endeavoured to abett; and at the ſame time divers Calumnies and Accuſations againſt *Dion* were by Others brought to the King; as that he held Correſpondence with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to ſubvert the Monarchy: For indeed it is likely he had Hopes by the coming of *Plato* to take off the unlimited Power of *Dionyſius*, and make him moderate and equitable in his Authority; but if he continued averſe to That, and were not to be reclaimed, he reſolved to depoſe him, and reſtore the Common-wealth to the *Syracuſians*; not that he approved a Democracy or Popular Government, but thought it preferrable to a Tyranny, when a good Ariſtocracy or Regency of the Grandees could not be procured.

This was the State of Affairs when *Plato* came into *Sicily*. At his firſt Arrival he was received with wonderful Demonſtrations of Kindneſs and Reſpect; for one of the King's richeſt Chariots waited upon him when he came on Shore. *Dio-*

(1) This *Philiſtus* was not only a Perſon of ſingular Knowledge in Martial Affairs, but he was likewiſe a great Hiſtorian. He compoſed the Hiſtory of *Ægypt* in twelve Books, That of *Sicily* in as many, and That of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant in ſix. *Cicero* runs out ſo far in his Commendation as to ſay he was almoſt *Thucydides* the leſs, *pene puſillus Thucydides*, by which he meant that he was a ſtudious Imitator of him, and came not far behind him. It is true he never could arrive at the Dignity of Style in *Thucydides*, but he made amends for that Defect by his Perſpicuity. That which he was moſt to be blamed for was his zealous Attachment to Tyranny.

nyſius

nyſius Himſelf ſacrificed to the Gods in thankful Acknowledgment for the great Happineſs they had by the Arrival of that Philoſopher conferred on his Kingdom. The Citizens alſo entertained marvellous Hopes of a ſpeedy and thorough Reformation: For that at Court they obſerved a modeſt *Decorum* in their Feaſtings, a grave Compoſure in their Behaviour, and the King Himſelf returned kind and obliging Anſwers to all Petitions and Cauſes that were brought before him. Men were generally grown very deſirous of Learning, and eagerly intent upon the Study of Philoſophy; inſomuch that all the Apartments in the Court itſelf were like ſo many Schools of *Geometricians* full of the Duſt which thoſe Students make uſe of to deſcribe their Mathematical Figures, and ſo general was the Thirſt after Learning and Knowledge.

Not long after, at a ſolemn Sacrifice in the Caſtle, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, when the Prieſt, as he was wont, prayed for the long Continuance of the preſent Government: *Dionyſius* ſtanding by, was heard to ſay, *What, will you never leave off curſing me?* This ſenſibly vext *Philiſtus* and his Party, who conjectured, That if *Plato* by ſo little Acquaintance had thus transformed and altered the young King's Mind, conſequently by longer Converſe, and greater Intimacy, he would get ſuch Power and Authority, that it would be impoſſible to withſtand him. They did therefore no longer privately and apart, but jointly and in publick All of them rail at *Dion*, noiſing it about, that he manifeſtly charmed and bewitched *Dionyſius* by *Plato*'s Sophiſtry; to the End, that when he was perſuaded voluntarily to part with the Regency, and throw off his Authority, *Dion* might take it up, and ſettle it upon his Siſter *Ariſtomache*'s Children. Others ſeemed to take it in great Scorn, that the *Athenians*, who formerly

arrived in *Sicily* with a great Fleet, and numerous Land-Army, but were routed and beaten off with great Loſs, without being able ſo much as to take the City of *Syracuſe*; ſhould now by means of one Sophiſter, overturn the whole Empire of *Dionyſius*; inveagling him to caſhier his Guard of ten thouſand Lances, diſmiſs a Navy of four hundred Gallies, disband an Army of ten thouſand Horſe, and treble the number of Foot, and go ſeek in the Schools an unknown and imaginary Bliſs, and learn from the Academy how to be happy; while in the mean time he reſigned the ſubſtantial Enjoyments of abſolute Power, Riches and Pleaſure to *Dion* and his Siſter's Children.

By theſe means at firſt *Dion* incurred the King's Suſpicion, and by degrees his apparent Diſpleaſure and Averſion. A Letter alſo was intercepted, which *Dion* had writ to the *Carthaginian* Agents, adviſing them, *that when they treated with* Dionyſius *concerning a Peace, they ſhould not come to their Audience, unleſs He were there; and then he would effectually diſpatch their Buſineſs according to their Minds.* When *Dionyſius* had ſhewed this to *Philiſtus*, and, as *Timæus* relates, conſulted with Him about it, he over-reached *Dion* by a feigned Reconciliation, fairly pretending to receive him again to his Favour; but leading him alone one Day to the Seaſide, under the Caſtle Wall, he ſhewed him the Letter, and taxed him with Conſpiring with the *Carthaginians* againſt him; when *Dion* eſſayed to offer ſomething in his own Defence, *Dionyſius* refuſed to hear him, and immediately forced him Aboard a Veſſel, which lay there for that purpoſe, and commanded the Sailors to ſet him aſhore on the Coaſt of *Italy*, and there leave him.

When This was publickly known, all Men thought it very hard Uſage, and a great piece of Cruelty. The Ladies alſo in the Court mightily lamented

lamented *Dion*. But the Citizens of *Syracuſe* encouraged themſelves, expecting that for His ſake ſome Inſurrection would enſue; which together with the Miſtruſt Others would have of the King, upon this account, might occaſion new Meaſures, and an Alteration in the State; which *Dionyſius* perceiving, and being very much concerned at, he endeavoured to pacifie the Women, and Others of *Dion*'s Friends and Relations; aſſuring them, that he had not baniſhed, but only ſent him out of the way for a time, fearing that if he continued there preſent upon the Place, Paſſion might prevail upon him to puniſh his Obſtinacy with greater Severity. At the ſame time he allowed his Friends two Ships, and gave them Liberty to load on board all his Wealth, and rich Furniture, and tranſport it to him in *Peloponneſus*. For *Dion* was immenſly rich, and little inferior to the King himſelf in the Splendor and Furniture of his Houſe; which his Friends packed up and conveyed to him; beſides many rich Preſents, which were ſent him by the Ladies and Others of his Acquaintance. Inſomuch that the abundance of his Wealth and Treaſure gained him great Honour and Regard among the *Græcians*; and this Opulence, and Grandure of a Perſon who at the beſt was but a Subject, and was now an Exile, gave them a Specimen of the unlimited Power and Magnificence of the Tyrant.

As ſoon as *Dion* was packed off the Tyrant removed *Plato* into the Caſtle, deſigning under colour of an honourable and kind Reception, to ſet a Guard upon him, leſt he ſhould follow *Dion*, and declare to the World in his Behalf, how injuriouſly he had been dealt with. But now Time and Converſation (as wild Beaſts by uſe grow tame and tractable) brought *Dionyſius* to endure *Plato*'s Company and Diſcourſe; ſo that he began to love the

Philoſopher, but with ſuch an Affection, as had ſomething of the Tyrant in it, requiring of *Plato*, that he ſhould, in return of his Kindneſs, love Him only, and admire Him above all other Men; being ready to permit to his Care the chief Management of Affairs, and even the Government too, upon Condition that he would not prefer *Dion*'s Friendſhip before His. This extravagant Affection was a great Trouble to *Plato*; for it was accompanied with petulant and jealous Humours, like the fond Paſſions of Thoſe who are deſperately in Love; frequently falling out with him, and preſently entreating to be Friends again; for now he was beyond meaſure deſirous to be *Plato*'s Scholar, and to proceed in the Study of Philoſophy; yet he ſeemed ſtill to have ſome regret, and to be aſhamed of himſelf to Thoſe who endeavoured to pervert him from this Deſign, as if he were grown degenerate, and like to be ſpoiled and undone.

But a War about this time breaking out he was obliged to ſend *Plato* away, but promiſed him before his Departure to recall *Dion* the next Summer; tho' in This he was not ſo good as his Word, nevertheleſs he remitted to him the Product of his Revenues; deſiring *Plato* to excuſe him for the prefixed time, by reaſon of the War; but as ſoon as he had ſettled a Peace, he would immediately ſend for him; requiring him in the Interim to be quiet, and not raiſe any Diſturbance, nor ſpeak any thing ill of him among the *Græcians*. This *Plato* endeavoured to effect, by keeping *Dion* with him in the *Academy*, and buſying him in his Philoſophical Studies.

Dion ſojourned in the City with *Calippus*, one of his Acquaintance; but for his Diverſion, he bought a Seat in the Country, which afterwards, when he went into *Sicily*, he gave to *Speucippus*, the

the moſt familiar Companion he had of all his Friends at *Athens*; *Plato* deſigning by *Speucippus*'s pleaſant Converſation, full of ſeaſonable and witty Mirth, to ſweeten and divert *Dion*'s auſtere and melancholy Temper; for *Speucippus* was a very ingenious and merry Droll, as *Timon*, in his Satyrs, calls him.

Whilſt *Dion* was reſiding at *Athens* it happened to be *Plato*'s turn to exhibit the juvenile Shews, and *Dion* taking upon him the ordering and management thereof, defrayed the whole Expence at his own Charge; *Plato* giving him this Opportunity to oblige the *Athenians*, which was like to procure his Friend more Kindneſs, than Credit to Himſelf. *Dion* went alſo to ſee ſeveral other Cities, and was entertained in their Publick Aſſemblies by thoſe of the beſt Quality and Underſtanding in State Affairs; betraying nothing in his Converſation either rude or unbecoming; neither taking too much State upon him, nor too eaſily condeſcending; but in all his Behaviour he ſhewed a great deal of Modeſty, Generoſity, and Manly Bravery: And in his Philoſophical and Political Diſcourſes, no leſs Skill and Learning; by which means he gained the Love and Reſpect of all Men, and in many Cities had publick Honours decreed him; the *Lacedæmonians* making him a Citizen of *Sparta*, without regard to the Diſpleaſure of *Dionyſius*, tho' at that time he aided them in their Wars againſt the *Thebans*.

It is reported, that *Dion*, upon an Invitation, went to the Houſe of *Pteodorus*, the *Megarenſian*, who was a very Potent and Wealthy Man; and when by reaſon of the great Concurſe of People about his Doors, who waited for the diſpatch of Buſineſs, his Acceſs was troubleſome and difficult, turning about to his Friends, who ſeemed concerned and angry at it, *What reaſon*, ſaid he, *have*

We to blame Pteodorus, *who our ſelves uſed our Viſitants no better when we were at* Syracuſe?

Soon after, *Dionyſius* envying *Dion*, and withal jealous of the Favour and Intereſt he had among the *Græcians*, put a ſtop upon his Incomes; and no longer ſent him his Revenues; making his own Commiſſioners Truſtees of the Eſtate; but endeavouring to obviate the Ill-will and Diſcredit, which upon *Plato*'s account might accrue to him among the Philoſophers, he got into his Court Many who were reputed Men of Learning; and ambitiouſly deſiring to ſurpaſs them all in their Debates, he was forced (tho' ſometimes very impertinently) to make uſe of what he had occaſionally learnt from *Plato*, and now wiſhed for his Company again, repenting he had not made better uſe of it when he had it, and given no greater heed to his excellent Precepts and Diſcourſes: Like a Tyrant therefore, inconſiderate in his Deſires, heady and violent in his Paſſions, on a ſudden he was eagerly bent on the Deſign of recalling him, and left no Stone unturned, but prevailed with *Archytas* and the other *Pythagorean* Philoſophers to ſtand obliged for the Performances of his Promiſes, and to perſuade him to return into *Sicily*, (1) for it was *Plato* who firſt brought them acquainted with *Dionyſius*, and eſtabliſhed the Right of Hoſpitality between them.

Theſe Philoſophers ſent *Archidemus* in their Behalf to *Plato*, and at the ſame time *Dionyſius* ſent ſome Gallies, and ſeveral of his Friends to importune him to comply with his Requeſt. He likewiſe wrote to him Himſelf, telling him in plain

(1) This *Plato* Himſelf tells us in his ſeventh Letter. *For before I left him I had introduced* Archytas, *and the other Philoſophers of* Tarentum *into the Acquaintance and Friendſhip of that Prince, and eſtabliſhed the Right of Hoſpitality between them.* ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν ποιήσας, &c.

Terms,

Terms, *that* Dion *muſt never look for any Favour or Kindneſs, if* Plato *would not be prevailed with to come into* Sicily; *but upon his Arrival he might then be aſſured of whatever he deſired. Dion* alſo was much ſollicited by his Siſter and his Wife to oblige *Plato* to gratifie *Dionyſius* in this Requeſt, and pretend no Excuſe to the contrary. So that, as *Plato* ſays of himſelf, he ſet Sail the third time for *Sicily*,

(1) *Daring once more the terrible* Charybdis.

This Arrival brought great Joy to *Dionyſius*, and no leſs Hopes to the *Sicilians*, who were as earneſt in their Wiſhes, as ſtudious in their Endeavours, that *Plato* might get the better of *Philiſtus*, and Philoſophy triumph over Tyranny: Neither was he unbefriended by the Ladies, who upon all Occaſions ſtudied to oblige him; but he had from *Dionyſius* that peculiar Credit, which no Man elſe ever obtained, to that degree of confiding, that he might come into his Preſence without being examined or ſearched. When the King offered him a very conſiderable Sum of Money, and repeated the tender of his Bounty, but *Plato* ſtill

(1) This is a Verſe in the twelfth Book of *Homer*'s *Odyſſey*.

Ὄφρ' ἔτι τὴν ἐλοὴν ἀναμετρήσαιμι Χάρυβδιν,

which word for word is

Once more to coaſt the terrible Charybdis.

and thus the Verſe ſtands quoted by *Plato* in his ſeventh Letter. *Plutarch* has changed a Word, and inſtead of ἀναμετρήσαιμι he has it ἐξολοθρεύσεις. The queſtion is what the Meaning can be of that Word, which has puzled the Interpreters. I am of Opinion *Plutarch* has made uſe of it to ſignify that this third Voyage of *Plato* into *Sicily* was the Cauſe of the Tyrant's Deſtruction; or rather that *Plato* went a third time to engage, and endeavour to exterminate in *Dionyſius* the *Charybdis*, that is the Monſter, the Tyrant, by converting him, and rendring him a Prince full of Juſtice and Benignity. This Senſe ſeems to be confirmed by what followeth, *that Philoſophy might triumph over Tyranny*.

refuſed

refuſed to accept it, *Ariſtippus* the *Cyrenian*, then preſent, ſaid, *That* Dionyſius *was liberal without danger of hurting his Treaſury; for to Thoſe who wanted much he gave very little, and offered a great deal to* Plato, *becauſe he received nothing.*

After the firſt Compliments of Kindneſs were over, when *Plato* began to diſcourſe of *Dion*, he was at firſt diverted by Dilatory Excuſes, which ſoon after begat Feuds and Diſguſts, tho' as yet not publickly taken notice of; *Dionyſius* endeavouring all he could to conceal them; and by other Civilities and honourable Uſage to draw him off from his Kindneſs to *Dion*. *Plato* for ſome time did not divulge this perfidious Dealing, and Breach of Promiſe, but bore with it, and diſſembled his Reſentment. While Matters ſtood thus betwixt them, and as they thought they were unobſerved and undiſcovered, *Helicon* the *Cyzicinian*, one of *Plato*'s Followers, foretold an Eclipſe of the Sun, which happened according to his Prediction: For which he was much admired by the King, and rewarded with a Talent of Silver. *Ariſtippus*, drolling with ſome others of the Philoſophers, told them, He alſo had ſomething extraordinary to Prognoſticate; which they entreating him to declare, *I foretel*, ſaid he, *that* Dionyſius *and* Plato *will in a very little time fall out.*

At length *Dionyſius* made Sale of *Dion*'s Eſtate, converted the Money to his own Uſe, and removed *Plato* from an Apartment he had in the Gardens of the Palace, to Lodgings near Thoſe of the Guards he kept in Pay, who bore *Plato* an old Grudge, and ſought Opportunity to make him away; ſuppoſing he adviſed *Dionyſius* to lay down the Government, and disband his Soldiers. When *Archytas* underſtood the Danger *Plato* was in, he immediately ſent a Galley with Meſſengers, to demand him of *Dionyſius*; alledging, that he ſtood engaged

for his Safety, upon the Confidence of which *Plato* came for *Sicily*. *Dionyſius*, to palliate his ſecret Hatred, before *Plato* departed, treated him with great Entertainments and all ſeeming Demonſtrations of Kindneſs; but could not forbear breaking out one Day into ſuch an Expreſſion as This; *No doubt* Plato, *when you are at home among the Philoſophers, your Companions, you will complain of Me, and reckon up a great many of my Faults.* To which *Plato* ſmiling return'd Anſwer, *I hope, Sir, we ſhall never be ſo put to it in the Academy, for want of Subjects to diſcourſe of, as to talk of You.* Thus, they ſay, *Plato* was diſmiſſed; but his own Writings do not altogether agree with this Relation.

Dion was very angry at This, and not long after declared himſelf an open Enemy to *Dionyſius*, having received ſome Intelligence concerning his Wife, about which *Plato* by Letters had held a Correſpondence with *Dionyſius*; now thus it was. After *Dion*'s Baniſhment, *Dionyſius* ſending back *Plato*, deſired him to ask *Dion* privately, if he would be againſt his Wife's marrying another Man: (For there went a Report, whether true, or raiſed by *Dion*'s Enemies, was uncertain, that his matrimonial State was not agreeable to him, and that there was a Coolneſs, and Indifference between Him, and *Arete*.) Wherefore when *Plato* came to *Athens*, and had diſcourſed the matter with *Dion*, he writ a Letter to *Dionyſius* in which he expreſſed every thing elſe plainly and intelligibly; but this Affair in covert and abſtruſe Terms, that none elſe but He might underſtand it; ſignifying therein, that he had talked with *Dion* about the Buſineſs, and that it was evident, he would highly reſent the Affront, if *Dionyſius* ſhould attempt any ſuch Thing: At that Time therefore, while there were yet any Hopes of an Accommodation, he altered nothing in his Siſter's Concerns, ſuffering her to live with

Dion's

Dion's Son; but when Things were come to that Paſs, that no Reconciliation could be expected, and that *Plato*, after his ſecond Return, was again ſent away in Diſpleaſure, he then forced *Arete* againſt her Will to marry *Timocrates*, one of his Favourites; in this Action coming ſhort, even of his Father's Juſtice and Lenity. For when *Philoxenus*, who had married his Siſter *Theſte*, being in Diſgrace, and his declared Enemy, for fear had fled and left *Sicily*, he ſent for his Siſter, and taxed her, that being privy to her Husband's Flight, ſhe had not declared it to Him: But the Lady, confident and fearleſs, made him this Reply: *Do you believe me, Brother, ſo bad a Wife, or ſo timorous a Woman, that having known my Husband's Flight, I would not have born him Company, and ſhared the worſt of his Fortunes. Alas! I was ignorant of it; for better had it been for me, and more honourable, to be called the Wife of the Exile* Philoxenus, *than the Siſter of the Tyrant* Dionyſius. 'Tis ſaid, the King admired her ready and confident Anſwer; the *Syracuſians* alſo honoured her for her Bravery; inſomuch, that ſhe retained her Dignity and Princely Retinue after the Diſſolution of the Tyranny; and when ſhe died, the Citizens, by publick Decree, attended the Solemnity of her Funeral. Tho' this be a Digreſſion from the preſent Purpoſe, it is not altogether an uſeleſs Remark.

From this time *Dion* ſet his Mind wholly upon a War, tho' *Plato* endeavoured to diſſuade him from it, in regard to the hoſpitable Entertainment he had received from *Dionyſius*; and alſo conſidering the advanced Age of *Dion*: But *Speucippus* and the reſt of his Friends aſſiſted and encouraged him to undertake the Deliverance of *Sicily*, which in humble manner, with Hands lifted up, ſeemed to implore his Help, and ſtood with open Arms impatient to receive him. For during *Plato*'s Sojourn

at

at *Syracuſe*, *Speucippus* being oftner than He in Company with the Citizens, throughly underſtood how they were inclined; at firſt he was ſhy of them, and ſuſpected they were ſet on by the King to trapan him; but at length he gave Ear and Credit to what they ſaid. They generally agreed in their Wiſhes and Prayers, that *Dion* would undertake the Deſign, and come, tho' without either Navy, Men, Horſe, or Arms: That he would put himſelf aboard a Ship, and lend the *Sicilians* only his Perſon and Name againſt *Dionyſius*. This Information from *Speucippus* encouraged *Dion*, who, that he might the better conceal his Deſign, employed his Friends privately to raiſe what Men they could. Many great Stateſmen and Philoſophers were aſſiſting to him; among whom was *Cyprius Endemus*, (on whoſe Death *Ariſtotle* writ his Dialogue of the Soul) and *Timonides* the *Leucadian*; they alſo engaged on his ſide *Miltas* the *Theſſalian*, (1) who was skilful in foretelling Events, and his Fellow-Student in the Academy: Of all that were baniſhed by *Dionyſius*, who were not fewer than a thouſand, five and twenty only liſted themſelves, the reſt for fear declining the Undertaking. The general Rendezvous was in the Iſland *Zacynthus*, whither they marched a ſmall Army, (2) being not in all eight hundred compleat;

(1) Theſe Divines or Conjurers had a great Share in all Enterprizes of Conſequence, ſo that there was hardly ever any Expedition without one of them. He was conſidered as a neceſſary Member, and an Inſtrument very fit to conduct and animate the Adventurers. There was nothing to be done without ſuch a *Miltas*.

(2) This Circumſtance is ſomething extraordinary, and I do not know of a like Inſtance in Hiſtory, where a Man at the Head only of eight hundred Soldiers, and with two Ships, undertook to attack ſuch a Force as was That of *Dionyſius*. I cannot but inſert on this Occaſion a Reflection of *Diodorus*, which ſeems very uſeful for Princes, and all ſuch as are placed at the Head of Affairs. *Who would ever have thought*, ſaith he, (lib. xvi.) *that a Perſon with two*

pleat; but all of them experienced Men, who had ſignalized themſelves in many and great Engagements; well-diſciplined and inured to Hardſhip; and for Courage and Conduct, the very Flower of all the Soldiery; and ſuch as by their Example would animate and encourage to Action the numerous Forces *Dion* hoped to have in *Sicily*. Yet theſe Men, when they firſt underſtood the Expedition was againſt *Dionyſius*, were troubled and diſhearten'd, blaming *Dion*, that hurried on like a mad Man by his Paſſion and Deſpair, he raſhly threw both Himſelf and Them into certain Ruin: Nor were they leſs angry with their Commanders and Muſter-maſters, that They did not in the Beginning let them know the Deſign of the War. But when he had in an Oration ſet forth the unſafe and weak Condition of Arbitrary Government; and declared that he carried them rather for Commanders than Soldiers; the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and the reſt of the *Sicilians*, having been long ready for a Revolt: And when *Aleimenes*, a *Græ-*

Tranſports only ſhould get the better of a Prince, who had at his Command four hundred Men of War, a hundred thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, Stores of Ammunition, and Proviſion in proportion, and ſuch a Profuſion of Treaſure, as was abundantly ſufficient for the Maintenance of ſuch numerous Forces: Who beſides all This had in his Poſſeſſion one of the moſt potent Cities in Greece, *where he was Maſter of Havens, Arſenals, and Citadels that were impregnable, and was moreover ſtrengthened with the ſtrongeſt Alliances? The ſole Cauſe of* Dion's *unparalleled Succeſs was in the firſt Place his Courage, and Magnanimity joined to the good Will and Affection of Thoſe for the Sake of whoſe Liberty he was engaged. But That which turned moſt to his Service was the Unworthineſs and Effeminacy of the Tyrant, and the Diſaffection, Hatred, and Contempt of his Subjects; all theſe Circumſtances concurring in the ſame Inſtant gloriouſly produced ſuch an amazing Event, as may by Poſterity be thought incredible.* Will any one pretend after This that Force and Power are the adamantine Chains which ſecure an Empire, as *Dionyſius* the Elder vainly imagined? The only true and indiſſoluble Chains of Adamant, are Juſtice, Munificence and Humanity in the Prince, and That which never fails to flow from them, Love and Affection in the Subject.

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cian Nobleman of great Quality and Reputation, who accompanied him in the Expedition, had harangued them to the ſame Effect, they were quiet and contented.

It was now the midſt of Summer, and the Winds called (1) *Eteſian* then prevailed, the Moon being at the full, when *Dion* prepared a magnificent Sacrifice to *Apollo*, and with great Solemnity marched his Soldiers to the Temple in all their Arms and Accoutrements; after the Sacrifice he feaſted them all in the Publick *Cirque* or Place of Exerciſe of the *Zacynthians*, where he had made Proviſion for their Entertainment; there ſeeing with Wonder the Plenty and Richneſs of Gold and Silver Plate, and the Tables furniſhed in an extraordinary manner, far exceeding the Fortunes of a private Man, they concluded with themſelves, that one of his Age, and Maſter of ſo much Treaſure, would not engage himſelf in ſo hazardous an Enterprize, without good Aſſurance of Hope, and certain and ſufficient Supplies from his Friends. As they were offering Wine to the Gods, and performing their cuſtomary Devotions, the Moon was eclipſed, which was no Wonder to *Dion*, who underſtood the Revolutions of Eclipſes, and how the Moon was over-ſhadowed by the direct Interpoſition of the Earth between Her and the Sun: But becauſe it was neceſſary that the Soldiers ſhould be ſatisfied and encouraged, who were ſurprized and troubled at it, *Miltas* the Diviner ſtanding up in the midſt of the Aſſembly, bid them be of good Chear, and expect all happy Succeſs; for that the

(1) The *Eteſian* were like what we call the *Trade Winds*, and blew from certain Points at certain Seaſons of the Year. According to *Strabo* they were ſometimes the North, and ſometimes the Eaſt Winds; for having in his third Book called them *Eurus*, he calls them *Boreas* in his ſeventeenth. Here without doubt they are to be taken for the Eaſt, *Eurus ſubſolanus*, becauſe they conveyed *Dion* from the Iſle of *Zacynthus* to *Pachynus*.

Gods

Gods did foretell ſomething that was at preſent glorious and reſplendent ſhould be eclipſed and obſcured. *Now, nothing*, ſaid he, *can be more reſplendent than the Grandeur of* Dionyſius, *which however will immediately be extinguiſhed upon your Arrival in* Sicily. Thus *Miltas* in publick deſcanted upon the Accident: (1) But when a Swarm of Bees had ſettled on the Poop of *Dion*'s Ship, he privately told Him and his Friends, that he feared the Actions they were like to perform, tho' in themſelves great and glorious, yet (2) would they be but of a ſhort Continuance, and after a ſudden and ſurprizing Blaze would in a Moment be eclipſed, and fall into Decay. It is reported alſo, that many ill Prodigies hapned to *Dionyſius* at that time. An Eagle ſnatching a Javelin from one of the Guard, carried it aloft, and from thence let it fall into the Sea. The Water of the Sea, that waſhed the Caſtle Walls, was for a whole Day ſweet and potable; as Many who taſted it experienced. Piggs were farrowed perfect in all their other Parts, but with-

(1) This is a Circumſtance ſomething ſingular, and remarkable; a Swarm of Bees appearing all on a ſudden was conſidered as an inauſpicious Omen. This Superſtition did not prevail only in *Greece*, but the *Romans* likewiſe were infected by it, as we learn from *Cicero*, who in his Oration *de Haruſpicum reſponſis*, ſaith, *Si examen Apum ludis in Scenam veniſſet, haruſpices acciendos ex Hetruria putaremus. Videmus univerſi repente examina tanta Servorum immiſſia in populum Rom. ſaptum, atque incluſum, & non commovemur? Atque in apum fortaſſe examine nos ex Hetruſcorum ſcriptis Haruſpices ut a ſervitio caveremus monerent*, &c. *If a Swarm of Bees ſhould come on a ſudden, and appear on the Stage during the Exhibition of the Spectacles we ſhould think it high time to ſend for and conſult with the* Etrurian *Diviners. And now tho' we all behold with our own Eyes ſo many Swarms of Slaves pouring in upon the* Roman *People pent up cloſe in the Theatre, are we in the leaſt concerned at it? Perhaps thoſe Sages upon examining their* Tuſcan *Directories would from that Swarm of Bees adviſe us to guard againſt Slavery*, &c.

(2) Why do the Bees foretel an Action or Event of great Shew, and of but little Continuance? Is it becauſe they feed upon Flowers, which are a lively Emblem of whatever is moſt agreeable, but moſt tranſitory?

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out Ears. The Diviners declared This to portend a Revolt and Rebellion; for that Subjects would no longer give Ear to the Commands of their Superiors. They expounded the Sweetneſs of the Water to ſignify to the *Syracuſians* a Change from bad and woful Times into better and more happy Circumſtances. The Eagle being the Bird of *Jupiter*, and the Spear an Emblem of Power and Command; This Prodigy was to denote, that *Jupiter*, the chief of the Gods, deſigned the Deſtruction and Diſſolution of the preſent Government. Theſe things are related by *Theopompus* in his Hiſtory.

Dion's Soldiers were embarked on board of two Tranſports, which were tended by a Third ſomewhat leſs, and two Gallies of thirty Oars. Beſides his Soldiers Arms, he carried two thouſand Shields, a very great number of Darts and Lances, and abundant Stores of all manner of Proviſions, that there might be no want of any thing in their Voyage; becauſe they reſolved to keep out at Sea, and ply in the Main, fearing to come near the Shoar, upon Advice that *Philiſtus* rode at Anchor in the Bay of *Apulia* with a Fleet ready to intercept them. Twelve Days they ſailed with a freſh and gentle Gale; the thirteenth they made *Pachinus*, a Fore-land of *Sicily*: There the chief Pilot adviſed them to land preſently; for if they were forced again from Shoar, and doubled the Cape, they might run the Risk of being toſſed up and down for many days together (1) in Expectation of a Southerly Wind in that Summer Seaſon. But *Dion* fear-

(1) For he told us juſt before that the *Eteſian* Winds then prevailed, which very Winds had brought them to the Cape, and if once they got at any conſiderable Diſtance beyond it they would not be able to make *Sicily* without a Southerly Wind, which was not uſual in that Seaſon.

ing a Deſcent too near his Enemies, and deſirous to land at greater diſtance, and further up in the Country, weathered the Cape. They had not ſailed long, before the Wind ſhifted to the Nore, and drove them from *Sicily*. At the ſame time prodigious Storms of Thunder and Lightning burſt the Clouds, it being about the riſing of *Arcturus*, and were attended with violent Rains, and ſuch tempeſtuous Weather as put the Mariners at their Wits end, ſo that they were wholly ignorant what Courſe they ran; 'till on a ſudden they found they were driven to *Circina*, an Iſland on the Coaſt of *Africk*, craggy, and full of dangerous Rocks, where they narrowly eſcaped being forced and ſtaved to pieces; but labouring hard at their Oars, with much Difficulty they kept clear until the Storm ceaſed. Then lighting by chance on a Veſſel, they underſtood they were upon the beginning of the Flats, called the great *Syrtis*: Being now again diſheartned by reaſon of a ſudden Calm, and beating to and fro without making any Way, they had a Southerly Breeze from the Shoar, when they leaſt expected the Wind in that Quarter, and ſcarce believed the happy Change of their Fortune. The Gale increaſing, and beginning to blow freſh, they clapp'd on all their Sails, and praying to the Gods, put out again to Sea, ſteering to rights for *Sicily* from the Coaſt of *Africk*; and running ſteady before the Wind, the fifth Day they arrived at *Minoa*, a little Town of *Sicily*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*, of which, *Synalus*, an Acquaintance and Friend of *Dion*, happen'd at that time to be Governour; who not knowing it to be *Dion* and his Fleet, endeavoured to hinder his Men from landing; but they made their Deſcent with their Swords in their Hands, without ſlaying any of their Opponents, (for That *Dion* had ſtrictly forbidden them, becauſe

of

of the Kindneſs he had for the Governour) but forced them to retreat; and following cloſe, preſſed in a Body with them into the Place, and took it. As ſoon as the two Commanders met, they mutually ſaluted each other; and *Dion* delivered up the Place again to *Synalus*, without the leaſt damage done to any one therein. *Synalus* quartered and entertained the Soldiers, and ſupplied *Dion* with what he wanted. They were very much encouraged by the lucky Accident of *Dionyſius*'s Abſence at that nick of time, for he was lately gone with eighty Sail of Ships into *Italy*: Wherefore, when *Dion* perſuaded the Soldiers to refreſh themſelves there, after their tedious and troubleſome Voyage, they would not be prevailed with, but earneſt to make the beſt uſe of that Opportunity, urged *Dion* to lead them ſtraight on to the Capital. Leaving therefore behind them their Baggage, and as many of their Arms as were then of no Uſe, to be conveyed to them by *Synalus* upon Occaſion, they marched directly to *Syracuſe*.

Two hundred Horſe of the *Agrigentines*, who inhabit near *Ecnomus*, came in and joined him in his March. Theſe were followed by the Inhabitants of the City of *Gela*; and the News of his Approach ſoon reaching to *Syracuſe*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion*'s Wife, the Siſter of *Dionyſius*, and was left Commander in Chief during his abſence, immediately diſpatched a Courier to *Dionyſius* with Letters containing an Account of *Dion*'s Arrival; while he himſelf took all poſſible Care to prevent any Stirs or Tumults that might ariſe in the City; where all were in great ſuſpence, but as yet continued quiet, fearing to give too much Credit to what was reported. A very ſtrange Accident happened to the Meſſenger who was ſent with the Letters; for being arrived in

Italy, as he travelled through the Country of the *Brutii*, haſtening to *Dionyſius* at *Caulonia*, he met one of his Acquaintance, (1) who was carrying home ſome part of a Sacrifice. The Fellow accepted a piece of the Fleſh, which his Friend offered him, and proceeded in his Journey with all ſpeed: But having travelled hard a good part of the Night, and being, through wearineſs, forced to take a little Reſt, he laid himſelf down in the next convenient Place he came to, which was in a Wood near the Road. A Wolf winding the Fleſh, came and ſeized it as it was faſtned to the Mail wherein were the Letters directed to *Dionyſius*, and carried away both That, and the Fleſh together. The Man awaking, and miſſing his Packet, ſought for it up and down a great while, and not finding it, reſolved not to go to the King without his Letters, but to conceal himſelf, and keep out of the way. *Dionyſius* therefore came to hear of the War in *Sicily* from other Hands, and that a good while after.

As *Dion* proceeded in his March, the *Camarineans* joined his Forces, and many of the Territory of *Syracuſe* revolting, came in to him; the *Leontines* and *Campanians*, who, with *Timocrates*, guarded the *Epipole*, receiving a falſe Alarm, which was ſpread on purpoſe by *Dion*, as if he intended firſt to attack their Cities, left *Timocrates*, and haſted home to take Care of their own Concerns. When this News was brought to *Dion*, where he lay near *Macra*, he raiſed his Camp by Night, and came to the River *Anapus*, which is diſtant from the City about ten Furlongs; there he made a Halt, and ſacrificed by the River, directing his Devotions to

(1) It was a Piece of Religion for a Man to carry home to his Family ſome Portion of the Victims, which had been ſacrificed, as it was for another to receive part of it from him if by Chance he met him with it in the Way.

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the riſing Sun. The Soothſayers declared, That the Gods promiſed him Victory; and They who were preſent, ſeeing him aſſiſt at the Sacrifice, with a Garland on his Head, one and all crowned themſelves with Garlands. There were about five thouſand that joined his Forces in their March; who, tho' but ill provided with ſuch Weapons as came next to Hand, yet by their Briskneſs and Courage ſupplied the want of better Arms; and as if *Dion* were already Conqueror, they ran forward with loud Shouts and Acclamations, encouraging each other by the Hopes of regaining their long-loſt Liberty. The moſt conſiderable Men, and better ſort of the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, clad all in White, met him at the Gates. The Mobile ſet upon all that were of *Dionyſius*'s Party, and principally ſearched for thoſe they call *Setters* or *Informers*; a Parcel of wicked Atheiſtical Wretches, who made it their Buſineſs to go up and down the City, thruſting themſelves into all Companies, that they might inform *Dionyſius* what Men ſaid, and how they ſtood affected. Theſe Varlets were the firſt who ſuffered, being drubb'd and knocked on the Head by the Rabble as they light upon them.

Timocrates, not being able to force his way to the Garriſon who kept the Caſtle, taking Horſe, fled out of the City; and by his Flight filled the Places where he came with Fear and Confuſion, magnifying all he could *Dion*'s Forces, leſt he ſhould ſeem upon a ſlight Apprehenſion to have deſerted the City. By this time *Dion* was come up, and appeared in the ſight of the People. He marched firſt in a rich Suit of Armour, having his Brother *Megacles* on one Hand, and on the other *Calippus* the *Athenian*, Both of them crowned with Garlands. He was followed by a hundred foreign Soldiers, all of them Men well made, and appoint-

ed by him for his Body Guard; next to Theſe marched the reſt of the Army in a decent regular Order, under the Command of their reſpective Officers. The *Syracuſians* looked on this martial Cavalcade as a ſacred Proceſſion, and Reſtoration of Liberty, and the Authority of the People after an Eight and Forty Years Exile, and Deprivation.

He was no ſooner entered the *Menetide* Gate but he cauſed the Trumpets to ſound, in order to compoſe the Tumult, and quiet the People. As ſoon as Silence was made, a Herald proclaimed, *that* Dion *and* Megacles, *who were come to aboliſh the Tyranny, declared the* Syracuſians *and all other* Sicilians *to be free from Slavery and Arbitrary Power.* And being deſirous to addreſs himſelf in a Speech to the People he marched up through that Part of the City called *Achradina.* All the way as he paſſed along the People on each ſide of the Streets ſet out their Cupboards and Tables, prepared their Victims, and as he came before the Doors flung Fruit and Flowers upon him, (1) and offered up Prayers to him as to their tutelary Diety.

There was at the Foot of the Caſtle, and under the Place called *Pentapyla*, (2) a lofty and ſtately Sun-dial which *Dionyſius* had ſet up; from the Top of That *Dion* made an Oration to the People, perſuading them to maintain and defend their Li-

(1) If we compare *Dion* in that day of univerſal Joy and Triumph, I do not ſay with *Dionyſius* in his Reverſe of Fortune, but with *Dionyſius* in the full Enjoyment of Arbitrary Power, when all Men ſubmitted ſervilely to his deſpotick Will and Pleaſure, even in that State we ſhall find that there is an infinite Difference between a Tyrant, and a juſt and gracious Prince.

(2) The *Phœnicians* were the Firſt who contrived a Dial in the Iſle of *Syros* before *Homer*'s time. But that *Dial* ſerved only to denote the Solſtices. Three hundred Years after *Homer*, *Pherecydes* formed one that deſcribed the Hours, after which they became very common.

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berty; who, with great Expreſſions of Joy and Acknowledgment, created *Dion* and *Megacles* Lieutenant-Generals, chuſing, at their Requeſt and Deſire, twenty other of the moſt conſiderable Citizens for their Colleagues, of which Number Half conſiſted of ſuch as had been baniſhed by the Tyrant, and were now reſtored by *Dion*.

At firſt the Soothſayers looked on it as a happy Omen that *Dion*, when he made his Oration to the People, had under his Feet, as a ſign of Subjection, that ſtately Monument which *Dionyſius* at his own Expence had erected. But becauſe it was a Sun-dial on the which he ſtood when he was declared General, they expreſſed ſome Fears, that the great Actions he had performed might be ſubject to decline, and admit a ſudden change of Fortune.

After this *Dion* taking the Caſtle of *Epipole*, releaſed all the Priſoners who lay confined there, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong Wall. Seven days after *Dionyſius* arrived from *Italy*, and entered the Citadel from the Sea. About the ſame time *Dion* received the Carriages, with the Arms and Ammunition which he had left with *Synalus*, and diſtributed them among the Citizens; the reſt that wanted furniſhed themſelves as well as they could, and expreſſed great Courage and Readineſs for the Service. *Dionyſius* ſent Agents at firſt privately to *Dion*, to try what Terms they could make with him. But He declaring, that what Overtures they had to make muſt be in publick, the *Syracuſians* being now no longer in Subjection, but at Liberty to manage their own Affairs; They then addreſſed themſelves to the Citizens, with fair Words and ſpecious Promiſes, aſſuring them, that they ſhould have Abatements of their Tributes and Taxes, and not be compelled to ſerve in the Wars, tho' undertaken by their own Approbation and

Conſent. The *Syracuſians* laught at theſe Offers, and *Dion* returned their Anſwer, *That* Dionyſius *muſt not think to treat with them upon any other Terms, but reſigning the Government; which, if he would actually do, he would not forget how nearly he was related to him, or be wanting to aſſiſt him in whatever was juſt and reaſonable.* *Dionyſius* ſeemed to conſent to This, and ſent his Agents again, deſiring ſome of the *Syracuſians* to come into the Citadel, and conſult with him for the Good of the Publick, being ready to make fair Propoſitions, which he believed they could not but yield to, and He was equally willing to accept ſuch as They had to offer Him. Some therefore were deputed, ſuch as *Dion* approved of; and the general News from the Caſtle was, That *Dionyſius* would voluntarily reſign his Authority, and that he did it out of Choice rather than Compulſion. But This was only a feigned Device, and crafty Trick to amuſe the *Syracuſians*; for he impriſoned the Deputies that were ſent to him, and the next Morning by Day-break, having diſtributed Wine among his Mercenaries to encourage them, he ordered them to ſally out, and attack the Wall that had been made by *Dion*. The Alarm being unexpected, and the Action carried on with a great deal of Courage and Reſolution by the Barbarians, they broke through the Works, and with loud Shouts aſſailed the *Syracuſians* ſo furiouſly, that they all quitted their Poſt except *Dion*'s f[illegible]gn Troops, who taking the Alarm, haſtned t[illegible]heir Relief; tho' at firſt they knew not what to do, nor how to employ the Aid they brought, by reaſon of the Noiſe and Tumult of the *Syracuſians*, who in their precipitate Flight preſſed in upon them, and put their Ranks in Diſorder. Wherefore *Dion* perceiving that his Orders could not be heard inſtructed them by his Example, and charged into the

the thickeſt of the Enemy: The Fight near his Perſon was fierce and bloody; for he being ſignally known, as well by the Enemy as his own Party, they ran with great Noiſe and Fury to the Quarter where he fought. Tho' by reaſon of his Age he was unfit for ſuch a brisk Engagement, yet with great Vigor and Courage he charged all he met, cutting in Pieces ſeveral of the Enemy that withſtood him, 'till he was wounded in the Hand with a Lance; his Armour alſo being very much batter'd in this cloſe Fight, and ſcarce any longer ſerviceable, and having many Hurts through his Shield by the Arrows and Darts, wherewith they galled him at a Diſtance, at length he fell to the Ground; but was immediately reſcued, and carried off by his Soldiers. He left the Command to *Timonides*, and mounting his Horſe, rid about the City, rallied Thoſe that fled, and commanding a Detachment of the foreign Soldiers out of *Achradina*, where he had poſted them to guard that Place, he brought them as a freſh Reſerve upon the Enemy, who were tired with the Heat of the Action, and well nigh ready to give over their Deſign; for having Hopes at their firſt Salley to have retaken the City, when beyond their Expectation they found ſuch brave Reſiſtance, they retreated into the Caſtle: As ſoon as they gave Ground, the *Greek* Soldiers preſſed hard upon them, and purſued them to the very Walls. There were loſt in this Action of *Dion*'s Men ſeventy four, and a very great Number of the Enemy. This being a ſignal Victory, and principally obtained by the Valour of the foreign Soldiers, the *Syracuſians* rewarded each of them with a hundred *Minæ*, and the Soldiers themſelves preſented *Dion* with a Crown of Gold.

Soon after This there came Meſſengers from *Dionyſius*, bringing *Dion* Letters from the Ladies

his

his Relations; and one was ſuperſcribed, Hipparinus *to his Father* Dion: This was the Name of *Dion*'s Son, tho' *Timæus* ſays, he was from his Mother *Arete*'s Name, called *Aretæus*; but I think Credit is rather to be given to *Timonides*'s Report, who was his Fellow-Soldier and Confident. The reſt of the Letters were opened and read in the Preſence of the *Syracuſians*, containing many Solicitations and humble Requeſts of the Ladies; but the People out of Reſpect to *Dion* not ſuffering That which came from his Son to be unſealed, He inſiſted upon it, ſo That Letter likewiſe was opened, and read publickly. It proved to be from *Dionyſius* himſelf, addreſſed in Words to *Dion*, but in Subſtance to the *Syracuſians*, being couched in ſuch artful Terms that under a plauſible Juſtification of Himſelf, and civil Requeſts to Him, he conveyed ſuch a Meaning as might eaſily ſerve to make him ſuſpected to the People. He reminded him of the good Service he had formerly done to his Government, and how vigorous an Aſſerter he had been of the Prerogative. This was accompanied with terrible Menaces againſt Thoſe who were moſt dear to him, againſt his Siſter, his Son, and his Wife; conjuring him in the moſt paſſionate and moving Expreſſions to have regard to their Safeties. But That which touched *Dion* moſt, was, he earneſtly entreated him, That he would not deſtroy the Government, but take it upon Himſelf, and not put the Power into the Hands of thoſe Men who always hated him, and would never forget their old Piques and Quarrels, but keep it in his Own, and thereby ſecure from Injuries and Violence Himſelf, his Friends and Dependants.

When this Letter was read, the Mobile did not (as they ought in Juſtice) pay a due Deference to the unmovable Conſtancy and Bravery of *Dion*,

who withſtood all his moſt preſſing Concerns, to be true to his Virtue and his Honour; but from hence took Occaſion to fear and ſuſpect that he lay under invincible Obligations to be favourable to *Dionyſius*; and therefore began already to be hankring after a new General; and the rather, becauſe to their great Joy they received the News of *Heraclides*'s Arrival. This *Heraclides* was one of thoſe whom *Dionyſius* had baniſhed, a very good Soldier, and of great Note for the conſiderable Commands he had formerly under the King; yet a Man of no conſtant Reſolution, but of a fickle Temper, and leaſt of all ſteady and unbiaſſed when he had either a Rival or a Collegue in any honourable Command. He had a Difference formerly with *Dion* in *Peloponneſus*, and thereupon reſolved upon his own Fund, with what Ships and Soldiers he had, to make War upon *Dionyſius*. When he arrived at *Syracuſe* with ſeven Gallies and three Ships, he found *Dionyſius* already cloſe beſieged, and the *Syracuſians* high and proud of their Victories. Forthwith therefore he endeavoured by all ways to make himſelf popular; and indeed he had in him naturally ſomething that was very inſinuating and taking with the People, who loved to be courted and cajoled. He gained his End alſo the eaſier, and drew the People over to his ſide, becauſe they were angry with *Dion*, and diſliked his Gravity as too majeſtical, ſtately, and not enough condeſcending; for Succeſs had made them headſtrong and inſolent, ſo that they now thought fit to be treated with, and harangued as a free People, before they had in Reality obtained their Freedom. Getting therefore together in a riotous Aſſembly, they choſe *Heraclides* their Admiral; but when *Dion* came and complained, That conferring this Truſt upon *Heraclides*, was in Effect to cancel what they had formerly granted

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to Him, (for he was no longer their Generaliſſimo, if another had the Command of the Navy) they repealed their Order, and, tho' ſore againſt their Wills, cancelled his Commiſſion. When this Buſineſs was over, *Dion* invited *Heraclides* to his Houſe, and gave him a gentle Reprimand, That he did not well, nor adviſedly, to ſtand with him upon a Punctilio of Honour at a time when the leaſt falſe Step might be the Ruin of their whole Deſign; then calling a Common-Council, he made *Heraclides* Admiral, and prevailed with the Citizens to allow him ſuch a Guard, as they had before granted to *Dion*.

Heraclides openly pretended much Obſervance for *Dion*, and made him great Acknowledgments for this Favour, attending him with all Submiſſion, as ready to receive his Commands; but underhand he dealt with, and tainted the Mobile and Innovators, ſo that he involved *Dion* in perpetual Diſturbances, and created him much Perplexity and Diſquiet; for if he adviſed to give *Dionyſius* a Paſs-port to leave the Caſtle, he was cenſured, as deſigning to deliver and protect him: If, to avoid giving the People any Trouble or Suſpicion, he continued the Siege, they cried out, He protracted the War the longer to keep his Command of General, and over-awe the Citizens. There was one *Soſis*, notorious in the City for a bold and wicked Villain, yet in Shew a great Stickler for the Liberty and Property of the Subject; eſpecially for That which conſiſts in the uncontrolable Freedom of their Tongues. This Fellow plotting againſt *Dion*, ſtood up one Day in an Aſſembly, and having ſufficiently railed at the Citizens, as a Parcel of Sots and Blockheads, who could not ſee how they had made an Exchange of a diſſolute and drunken Tyrant, for a ſober and crafty Maſter, publickly declared, he was abſolutely againſt *Dion* and

and Arbitrary Government; and ſo he took his Leave of the Company. The next Day he was ſeen running through the Streets (as if he fled from Some that purſued him) almoſt ſtark naked, wounded in the Head, and bloody all over: In this Pickle getting the Rabble about him, he told them, that he was barbarouſly aſſaulted by *Dion*'s Men; and to confirm what he ſaid, ſhewed them the Wounds he had received in his Head. The People in general took his Part, raging and railing againſt *Dion*, as cruel and tyrannical, who took ſuch Arbitrary Courſes to ſtop the Mouths of the People. Juſt as they were in this ſeditious and tumultuous Hurly-burly, *Dion* came to vindicate himſelf, and made it appear, That this *Soſis* was Brother to one of *Dionyſius*'s Guard; and that he was ſet on by Him to embroil the City in Tumult and Confuſion: *Dionyſius* having now no way left for his Security, but to make his Advantage of their Diſſentions and Diſtractions. The Chyrurgions alſo having ſearched the Wound, found it was rather razed, than cut with a down-right Blow; for the Wounds made with a Weapon are moſt commonly deepeſt in the middle, but this was very ſlight, and all along of an equal Depth; that it was not one continued Wound, as if cut at once, but ſeveral Inciſions, in all probability, made at ſeveral times, as he was beſt able to endure the Pain. There were ſome too who knew him, who brought a Razor, and ſhewed it openly to the Company, declaring, That they met *Soſis* running in the Street all bloody, who told them, That he had narrowly eſcaped with his Life from *Dion*'s Soldiers, who had ſorely wounded, and were ſtill in purſuit of him. They haſtning to take the Purſuers, could meet with no Man, but ſpied this Razor lying under a hollow Stone near the Place from which they

they obſerved he came. All theſe Circumſtances made ſtrong againſt *Soſis*. But when, to back all This, his own Servants came in and gave Evidence, That he came out of his own Houſe alone before Break of Day, with a Razor in his Hand, *Dion*'s Accuſers ſneaked away, and the People, by a general Vote, condemned *Soſis* to die, being once again well ſatisfied with *Dion*, and his Proceedings.

Yet they were ſtill no leſs jealous of his Soldiers, (1) and the rather becauſe the War was now carried on principally by Sea; for that *Philiſtus* was come from *Apulia* with a great Fleet to *Dionyſius*'s Aſſiſtance; they ſuppoſed therefore that there would be no longer need of the *Greek* Soldiers, who were all Land-men, and arm'd accordingly, and rather in a Condition to be protected by Them, who were skilful Sea-men, and depended at preſent chiefly upon the Strength of their Shipping. They grew alſo more haughty and ſelf-conceited, by the Advantage they got in an Engagement by Sea, in which they took *Philiſtus* Priſoner, and uſed him in a moſt barbarous and cruel manner. *Euphorus* relates, That when he ſaw his Ship was taken he ſlew himſelf. But *Timonides*, who from the beginning of the War was with *Dion* in all the conſiderable Actions, writing to *Speucippus* the Philoſopher, relates the Story, That *Philiſtus*'s Galley running a-ground, he was taken Priſoner alive, and firſt diſarmed, then ſtripped, and expoſed ſtark naked, tho' an old Man, to all ſorts of Scorn and Contumely; afterward they cut off his Head, and gave the Rabble his Body, who dragged it along the *Achradina*, and then threw it into a

(1) For This gave the *Syracuſians* a Jealouſy, that when the foreign Troops found they could be of no farther Service they might watch an Opportunity of making themſelves Maſters of the City, whilſt the Citizens were taken up in their naval Engagements.

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Common-ſhore. *Timæus* carries the Indignity ſtill farther, and adds, That the Boys tied him by his lame Leg, and ſo drew him through the Streets of the City, while the *Syracuſians* inſulted over his Carkaſs, to ſee Him tied by the Leg, who had ſaid, *It would not become* Dionyſius *to be beholden to the Swiftneſs of his Horſe to fly from his Throne, but to be dragged from thence by the Heels rather than quit it*; tho' *Philiſtus* relates, that This was ſaid to *Dionyſius* by Another, and not by Himſelf. But *Timæus* takes this Occaſion, and truly a juſt one, from his zealous and conſtant Adherence to the Tyranny, to vent his own Spleen and Malice againſt him. They indeed who were injured by him are the more excuſable, if they expreſſed their Reſentment in Indignities to his dead Body; (1) but They who wrote his Hiſtory after his Death, and were no way wronged by him in his Life-time, but have had the Advantage of his learned Writings, in Honour ought not with opprobrious and ſcurrilous Language to upbraid him for thoſe Misfortunes, which many times by unhappy Accidents have befallen even the beſt of Men. On the other ſide, *Ephorus* is as much out of the way in the laviſh Encomiums he beſtows on *Philiſtus*; for tho' he is very good at diſguiſing baſe and unworthy Actions with fair and colourable Pretences, and in his Expreſſions is very florid and rhetorical, yet when he has done his beſt, he can never acquit

(1) This is a very juſt Reflection. The Cruelties exerciſed upon an Enemy are excuſable in Thoſe who have ſuffered from his Injuſtice. But that Writers, who come a long time after, and never could have any Dealings with him, ſhould uſe his Memory with the ſame Cruelty, and ſtuff their Writings with Calumnies very often without any juſt Foundation. This is beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory. It is equally beneath the Dignity of Hiſtory to load a Perſon with Commendations for the ſake of Party. A faithful Hiſtorian will preſerve a Medium, and render Juſtice indifferently to all Mankind.

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him of the Imputation he lies under, of being of all Mankind the moſt zealous Aſſerter of Arbitrary Government; and that no Man ever more induſtriouſly promoted, or fondly admired the Luxury, Power, Riches and Alliances of ſuch as made themſelves abſolute Princes. But between both theſe Extreams, He that neither praiſes *Philiſtus* for his Faults, nor inſults over his Misfortunes, ſeems to me beſt to conſult his own Credit, and perform the part of an Hiſtorian.

After *Philiſtus*'s Death, *Dionyſius* ſent to *Dion*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle, all the Arms, Proviſions, and Garriſon-Soldiers, with full Pay for them for five Months, demanding, That he might have a Paſs-port to go unmoleſted into *Italy*, and there to continue, and alſo enjoy the Seigniory of *Gyata*, a large and fruitful Territory in the Precinct of *Syracuſe*, reaching from the Sea-ſide to the middle of the Country. *Dion* rejected theſe Propoſals, and referred him wholly to the *Syracuſians* to treat with Them. And They hoping in a ſhort time to take *Dionyſius* alive, diſmiſſed his Ambaſſadors without Audience; which he underſtanding, left his eldeſt Son *Apollocrates* to defend the Caſtle; and putting aboard Thoſe he loved beſt of his Friends, and the richeſt of his Goods and Treaſure, took the Opportunity of a fair Wind, and made his Eſcape without being diſcovered by *Heraclides* the Admiral.

The Citizens loudly exclaimed againſt *Heraclides* for His Neglect, and were ready to mutiny againſt him; but He, in order to divert and appeaſe them, ſet up one *Hippon*, a great Man with the Populacy, and a notable Haranguer, to propoſe to them an equal Diviſion of the Lands and Revenues of the Country, alledging, That the Beginning of Liberty was Equality, and that Poverty and Slavery were inſeparable Companions. *Heraclides* ſided with

with him in this levelling Project, and encouraged the Faction againſt *Dion*, who rigorouſly oppoſed it; in fine he perſuaded the People to ratifie This by their Vote, and paſs it into a Law; and farther to decree, That the foreign Soldiers Pay ſhould be ſtopped, That they would proceed to the Election of new Commanders, take away *Dion*'s Commiſſion, and no longer be ſubject to his ſevere and imperious Diſcipline. The People eagerly deſirous to ſhake off all at once their Yoke of Slavery, which, as a Diſeaſe, had long hung upon them, began to do things at random, and like wilful and lawleſs Men, inconſiderately deſtroyed what they endeavoured to ſet up; hating *Dion*, who, (1) like a good Phyſician, endeavoured to keep the City, by a ſparing and regular Diet, in a due and laſting Temperament of Health.

The Aſſembly therefore being ſummoned for the Election of new Officers, in the midſt of Summer, there happened all on a ſudden unuſual and terrible Thunders, with other dreadful Prodigies which remained for fifteen Days together. Theſe Prodigies terrified the People, who were ſeized with a religious Fear which hindered them from chuſing thoſe Officers. But ſome few days after when the Weather grew more temperate, the Orators were for making the beſt of that Calm, and proceeding to an Election: but they had ſcarce began when a draught-Ox, tho' uſed to the Croud and Noiſe of the Streets, without any Provocation grew unruly to his Driver, and breaking his Yoke, ran furiouſly into the Theater where they were

(1) *Plutarch* compares the *Syracuſians*, who were for exerciſing a full uncontrolable Liberty before they were abſolutely free, to People juſt eſcaped out of a dangerous Sickneſs, who before they are entirely recovered are for living like Thoſe, who are in perfect Health. And nothing can be more proper than that Compariſon.

aſſembled, driving out the People before him in great Diſorder and Confuſion: From thence madding, and tearing, and throwing down all that ſtood in his way, he rambled over that part of the City of which the Enemies afterwards made themſelves Maſters. Nevertheleſs, the *Syracuſians* not regarding all this, elected five and twenty Captains, and among the reſt *Heraclides*; and underhand tampered with *Dion*'s Men, promiſing, if they would deſert him, and liſt themſelves in their Service, to make them Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and inveſt them with all the Privileges and Immunities of the Natives. But They, to ſhew their Fidelity and Courage, with their Swords in their Hands, placing *Dion* for his Security in the midſt of their Battalion, marched out of the City, not offering Violence to any one, but openly upbraiding all they met with their Baſeneſs and Ingratitude. The Citizens who ſlighted them, becauſe they were but few in Number, and becauſe they did not firſt aſſail them, ſuppoſing they might with eaſe overpower and cut them all off, before they got out of the City, fell upon them in the Rear: Here *Dion* was in a great Strait, being neceſſitated either to fight againſt his own Country-men, or tamely ſuffer Himſelf and his faithful Soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore uſed many Entreaties to the *Syracuſians*, ſtretching out his Hands towards the Caſtle, wherein was a ſtrong Garriſon, and ſhewing them the Enemy, who in great Numbers appeared on the Walls to be Spectators of this Action. But no Perſuaſions could ſtop the impetuous Torrent of the Multitude, who like Waves in a Storm were blown up by the ſeditious Breath of their buſie Incendiaries. He commanded his Men therefore not to charge them, but to advance with Shouts and claſhing of their Arms; which when the *Syracuſians* ſaw, not a Man of them durſt ſtand

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their Ground, but fled inceſſantly through the Streets, tho' nothing but their own Fears purſued them, for *Dion* immediately commanded his Men to face about, and led them into the Territories of the *Leontines*.

The very Women laughed at the new Captains for this cowardly Retreat; who to redeem their Credit, ordering the Citizens to ſtand to their Arms, followed after *Dion*, and came up with him as he was paſſing a River. Some of the light Horſe began to skirmiſh; but when they ſaw *Dion* no more tame and calm, no ſigns in his Face of his Fatherly Tenderneſs towards his Country-men, but with a ſtern Look, and full of Fury, as reſolved not to ſuffer their Indignities any longer, ordering his Battalia, and ready to give the Onſet, they preſently turned their Backs more cowardly and baſely than before, and fled to the City, with the loſs of ſome few of their Men.

The *Leontines* received *Dion* very honourably, rewarded his Men, and made them free of their City; ſending Envoys to the *Syracuſians*, to require them to do the Soldiers Juſtice, and give them their Pay; who in return, ſent back other Agents to accuſe *Dion*. But when in a full Aſſembly of the *Leontines* the Matter was heard and debated, the *Syracuſians* appeared plainly to be in Fault; but they refuſed to ſtand to the Award of their Confederates, huffing and diſdaining to hearken to any thing but what their cajoling Leaders and popular Sycophants adviſed them.

About this time *Dionyſius* ſent a Fleet under the Command of *Nypſius* the *Neopolitan*, with Proviſions and Pay for the Garriſon. The *Syracuſians* fought him, had the better, and took four of his Ships; but they made very ill uſe of their Succeſs; and for want of good Diſcipline, to expreſs their Joy, fell to Drinking and Feaſting in an ex-

travagant manner, with ſo little Regard to their main Concern, that when they thought themſelves ſure of taking the Caſtle, they were very near loſing their City. *Nypſius* ſeeing all the Citizens in this Diſorder, ſpending Day and Night in their drunken Revels and Debauches, and their Commanders well pleaſed with the Frolick, or at leaſt not daring to contradict the riotous Crew, who were Pot-valiant, and not to be controled; taking Advantage of this Opportunity, made a Deſcent, and ſtormed their Works, which having gained and ruined, he attacked the City, leaving the Ravage of it to the Will and Mercy of his Soldiers.

The *Syracuſians* quickly ſaw their Folly and Misfortune, but could not in the Diſtraction they were in, ſo ſoon redreſs it. The Soldiers made miſerable Havock in the City, putting the Men to the Sword, demoliſhing the Fortifications, dragging the Women and Children with lamentable Shrieks and Cries Priſoners into the Caſtle. The Commanders giving all for loſt, were not able to put the Citizens in any tolerable poſture of Defence, who were confuſedly mixed with the Enemy. While they were in this Condition, and the *Achradina* in danger to be taken, (1) the only Man in whom all their Hopes were placed, and who alone they all knew to be their laſt Reſort, was *Dion*, but not a Man of them had the Courage to name him, ſo much were they aſhamed of the Ingratitude with which they had rewarded

(1) This Paſſage has been miſunderſtood by Some of the Interpreters, who have made That, which is applicable only to *Dion*, to be underſtood of the *Achradina*, which is directly contrary both to *Plutarch*'s Words, and Meaning; to his Words, inaſmuch as in the Text it is εἰς ὃν μόνον *upon Whom* alone, and not εἰς ἣν, as if he meant the *Achradina*; and to his Meaning, becauſe if the *Achradina* was of that Strength and Conſequence the *Sicilians* could not be in that deplorable Condition, nor were they under ſuch a preſſing Want for *Dion*.

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his Services, and of their folly in driving him out of the City. They were at laſt forced upon it by Neceſſity, and ſome of the Auxiliary Troops cryed out, *Send for* Dion *and his* Peloponneſians *from the* Leontines, *or we are utterly undone.* No ſooner had they the Confidence to mention his Name, and it was heard among the People, but they gave a Shout for Joy, and with Tears in their Eyes wiſhed him there, that they might once again ſee that Hero at the Head of them, whoſe Courage and Bravery in the worſt of Dangers they could never forget; remembring not only with what undaunted Gallantry he always behaved himſelf, but alſo what Courage and Confidence he inſpired them with when he led them againſt the Enemy. They immediately therefore diſpatched *Archonides* and *Teleſides* of the Auxiliaries, and *Hellanicus*, with five more of the Horſe; who poſting with all the Speed they could make, reached the City of the *Leontines* in the cloſe of the Evening. (1) The firſt thing they did, was to leap from their Horſes, and fall at *Dion*'s Feet, with Tears relating the ſad Condition the *Syracuſians* were in. Many of the *Leontines* and *Peloponneſians* began to throng about them, gueſſing by their Speed, and the manner of their Addreſs, that there was ſomething extraordinary in the Buſineſs.

Dion preſently called an Aſſembly, and the People being gathered together in a very little time, *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* came in among them, and in ſhort declared the Miſery and Diſtreſs of the *Syracuſians*; begging the Foreign Soldiers to for-

(1) How glorious was this Circumſtance to *Dion*. How ſtrongly doth This reſemble the Ambaſſy ſent by *Agamemnon* and the other Princes to *Achilles*, to endeavour to appeaſe him, and perſuade him to haſten to the Succour of the *Greeks*, who were reduced to the laſt Extremity. Truth is brought in here to juſtify from Hiſtory one of the moſt moving Touches expreſſed by *Homer* in Fiction. Nay Hiſtory goes ſtill farther, as we ſhall ſoon ſee by what follows

get the Injuries they had received, and aſſiſt the diſtreſſed, who had ſuffered more for the Wrong they had done, than They Themſelves who received it would (had it been in their Power) have inflicted upon them. When they had made an end, there was a profound Silence in the Theater; *Dion* then ſtood up, and began to ſpeak, but a flood of Tears ſtopt his Words: His Soldiers were ſenſibly troubled at his Grief, praying him to moderate his Paſſion, and proceed: When he had therefore recovered himſelf a little, *Gentlemen* (ſays he) *and Fellow-Soldiers*, Peloponneſians, *and Confederates, I have called you here together to conſult upon your own Affairs*, (1) *for it will ill become me to heſitate, or conſider what is fit for Me to do if* Syracuſe *be loſt; which tho' I cannot ſave from Deſtruction, I will nevertheleſs haſten thither, and be buried in the Ruins of my Country; but if you can find in your Hearts to aſſiſt us, the moſt inconſiderate and unfortunate of Men, in this Exigency, you may to your eternal Honour again retrieve this unhappy City. But if the Diſpleaſure and Indignation you have juſtly conceived againſt the* Syracuſians *will no longer ſuffer you to pity and relieve them, may the Gods reward you for what you have already done for them, and for your conſtant Fidelity and Kindneſs to* Dion; *who, you muſt remember, as he did not deſert You when you were injured and abuſed by his Fellow-Citizens, ſo he cannot now forſake and abandon his Fellow-Citizens in their Afflictions and Misfortunes.*

(1) Such ought to be the Words of an honeſt good Man. His own perſonal Injuries and Reſentments are out of the Caſe the Moment his Country comes to be in Danger, there is no Room left ſo much as to deliberate. Tho' this Adventure of *Dion*'s may be ſaid truly to reſemble That of *Achilles*, the Characters muſt be allowed to be very different. But *Homer*'s Deſign was to repreſent a Perſon haſty, paſſionate, and inexorable, and Hiſtory has furniſhed *Plutarch* with one educated in the Boſom of Philoſophy, and he ſketcheth him out to us in the Colours of ſublime Virtue.

Before

Before he had well ended his Speech, the Soldiers with a great Shout teſtified their readineſs for the Service, crying out *to march immediately to the Relief of the City.* The *Syracuſian* Couriers hugged and embraced them, praying the Gods to ſhower down Bleſſings upon *Dion* and his valiant *Peloponneſians.* When the Noiſe was pretty well over, *Dion* gave Orders that all ſhould go to their Quarters, to prepare for their March, and having refreſhed themſelves, come compleatly armed to their Rendezvous in the very place they now were; reſolving that very Night to haſten to their Succour.

Now, at *Syracuſe*, *Dionyſius*'s Soldiers, as long as Day continued, ranſacked the City, and did all the Miſchief they could; but when Night came on, they retired into the Caſtle, having loſt ſome of their Number. This ſmall Reſpite reſtored Courage and Confidence to the factious Demagogues of the City, who flattering themſelves with Hopes that the Enemy would reſt content with what they had done, and make no further Attempt upon them, perſuaded the People again *to reject* Dion, *and if he came with the Foreign Soldiers, not to admit him; adviſing them not to yield, as inferior to Them in point of Honour and Courage; but to ſave their City Themſelves, and defend their Liberties and Properties with their own Swords.* (1) The Populacy therefore and their Leaders ſent new Meſſengers to *Dion*, to forbid him to advance; but the Nobility and the Horſe ſent Others to him, to deſire him to haſten his March. For this reaſon he ſlacked his Pace, and came forward but ſlowly. When Night came on the Faction that was againſt him ſet a Guard upon the Gates of the City, to hinder him from coming in.

(1) How ſuddenly is the Scene changed! Can Poetry furniſh us with any thing more unexpected, and ſurprizing? And yet This is not all.

(1) In that very inſtant *Nypſius* made another Sally out of the Caſtle with a far greater Number of Men than before, who quite ruined as much of the Rampart as was left ſtanding, and fell in pell-mell to ſack and ravage the City. The Slaughter was now very great, not only of the Men, but of the Women alſo and Children; for they regarded not ſo much the Plunder, as to deſtroy and kill all they met. For *Dionyſius* deſpairing to re-gain the Kingdom, and mortally hating the *Syracuſians*, reſolved to bury his loſt Empire in the utter Ruin and Deſolation of *Syracuſe*. The Enemy therefore, to prevent *Dion*'s Succours, reſolved upon the moſt terrible and ready way of Deſtruction, to lay the City in Aſhes; firing all at hand with Torches and other Combuſtibles; and at diſtance with flaming Arrows, and other Fire-works, ſhot from their Bows and Engines. The Citizens in great Diſtraction fled every way before them. They who to avoid the Fire forſook their Houſes, were taken in the Streets, and put to the Sword: They who betook themſelves for Refuge into the Houſes, were forced out again by the Flames. Many were burnt, and many killed by the Fall of Houſes and Ruins of Walls and Towers. This freſh Misfortune by general Conſent opened the Gates for *Dion*. It happened that he made no extraordinary Haſte when he received Advice that the Enemies were retreated into the Caſtle; but early in the Morning ſome Horſe brought him the News of another Aſſault; and ſoon after ſome of thoſe who before oppoſed his coming, fled now to him, to

(1) Here is another Turn: What Preparations are here for *Dion*'s Entry into *Syracuſe* in the very critical Minute! Is it in the Power of Fiction to form a greater Variety of Surprizes, and quicker Turns? The Moment the Gates are ſhut againſt *Dion*, that very Moment they ſtand moſt in need of his Aſſiſtance, and are upon the Point of receiving him as ſome Divinity.

entreat

entreat him to haſten to their Relief. The Fire and Deſolation increaſing, (1) *Heraclides* ſent his Brother, and after Him his Uncle *Theodotes*, to beg him to help them, for that now they were not able to make any longer Oppoſition; that He Himſelf was wounded, and the greateſt part of the City was either in Aſhes, or in Flames.

Dion met this ſad News, at about ſixty Furlongs diſtant from the City. When he had acquainted the Soldiers with the exigency, and exhorted them to behave themſelves like Men; the Army no longer marched, but ran forwards, and by the way were met by ſeveral who begged them to quicken their Pace. By the wonderful Eagerneſs of the Soldiers, and their extraordinary Speed, *Dion* quickly came to the City, and entered at the Gate *Hecatompedon*, ſending his Vanguard immediately to charge the Enemy; that upon the ſight of Them, the *Syracuſians* might take Courage. In the mean time he drew up in good Order his main Body, and as many of the Citizens as came in and joined him; forming his Battalions long, and ſetting over them double Officers, that he might, as occaſion required, make Detachments, and amuſe and terrifie the Enemy, by attacking them in ſeveral Quarters at one. As he appeared in the Streets advancing at the Head of his Men to engage the Enemy, a confuſed Noiſe of Shouts, Congratulations, Vows, and Prayers were raiſed by the *Syracuſians*, who now called *Dion* their Deliverer, their Tutelar-Deity, and his Soldiers their Friends,

(1) We ſee his very Enemies ſending to him One Meſſenger upon the Heels of Another. It muſt be confeſſed that if the Subject be in its own Nature beautiful and important, *Plutarch* has had the Addreſs to let it loſe nothing in the Narration, but knew how to make a right uſe of every Incident Fortune had provided for him, to render the Whole more marvellous and ſurprizing.

Brethren,

Brethren, and Fellow-Citizens. In this time of general Danger and Confuſion, there was not One among them, who was not more ſolicitous for *Dion*'s Safety than his Own, or That of all his Fellow-Citizens put together. So daringly did he march before them to meet the Danger, through Blood and Fire, and over heaps of dead Bodies that lay in his way.

And indeed the Poſture of the Enemy was in appearance very terrible; for they were animated by Rage and Deſpair, and had poſted themſelves very advantageouſly along the demoliſhed Works, which made the Approach to them very hazardous and difficult: Yet That which diſcouraged *Dion*'s Men moſt was the apprehenſion they were in of the Fire, which made their March very troubleſome and difficult; for the Houſes being in Flames on all ſides, they were ſurrounded with them, and treading upon burning Ruins, every Minute in danger of being overwhelmed with falling Houſes, through Clouds of Aſhes and Smoak they laboured hard to keep their Order, and maintain their Ranks. When they came near to the Enemy, by reaſon of the Advantage of their Poſt, and the Inconvenience of a Defile they were to paſs, few of them only could engage at a time; but at length fighting with great Bravery, and the *Syracuſians* with Shouts encouraging their Party, *Nypſius*'s Men were beaten off and routed: Moſt of them eſcaped into the Caſtle, which was near at hand; as many of them as could not get in, were purſued, and picked up here and there by the Soldiers, and put to the Sword.

The preſent Exigence did not ſuffer the Citizens to reap the Benefit of their Conqueſt in ſuch mutual Congratulations and Expreſſions of Joy as become the Victorious; for now all were buſily employed to ſave what Houſes were left ſtanding, labouring

labouring hard all Night, and could ſcarce maſter the Fire. The next Day not one of the Popular Haranguers durſt ſtay in the City, but all of them, knowing their own Guilt, by their Flight confeſſed it, and ſecured their Lives. Only *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* voluntarily ſurrendred themſelves to *Dion*, acknowledging *that they had wronged him, and begging he would be kinder to Them than they had been juſt to Him*; *adding, how much it would be for his Honour, who was Maſter of ſo many excellent Accompliſhments, to moderate his Anger, and be generouſly compaſſionate to the Ungrateful*; *confeſſing, that They who were formerly his profeſſed Enemies, were now abſolutely overcome by his Virtue.* Tho' they did in this manner moſt humbly addreſs themſelves to him, his Friends adviſed him not to pardon ſuch turbulent and ill-natured Men, but to leave them to the Mercy of his Soldiers, and utterly root out of the Commonwealth the ambitious Affectation of Popularity; (1) a Diſeaſe more peſtilent and pernicious than the moſt licentious Tyranny. *Dion* endeavoured to ſatisfy them, telling them, *That other Generals employed their Thoughts and Deſigns chiefly about Warlike Atchievements*; *but that he had long ſtudied in the Academy how to conquer his Paſſions, and not let Emulation and Envy conquer Him. That to do This, it is not ſufficient that a Man be obliging and kind to his Friends, and Thoſe who have deſerved well of him*; (2) *but alſo indulgent and favourable to Them alſo from whom he has received Injuries and Affronts. That he was reſolved to let the World ſee,*

(1) *Plutarch* gives us here a true Notion of the Spirit of Faction and Sedition; than which there can be no greater Peſt to a Society.

(2) This is perfectly agreeable to the Doctrine of *Plato*, who teacheth us that we are to hurt no one, not even Thoſe who have injured us. We may find in his *Gorgias* and *Crito* many excellent Maxims upon that Topick.

that

that he valued not himſelf ſo much upon excelling Heraclides *in Ability and Conduct, as he did in out-doing him in Juſtice and Clemency*; (1) *wherein to have the Advantage is to excell indeed. The Honour of Victory in War is never entire; for Fortune will be ſure to claim Her ſhare, tho' no Man pretend to rival the Conqueror. What if* Heraclides *be perfidious, malicious, and baſe, muſt* Dion *therefore ſully his Honour, or injure his Virtue by a paſſionate Reſentment? For tho' the Laws determine it juſter to revenge, than do an Injury; yet it is evident,* (2) *that Both originally proceed from the ſame Deficiency and Weakneſs of Human Nature: The malicious Humour of Men, tho' perverſe and refractory, is not ſo ſavage and invincible,* (3) *but it may be wrought upon by Kindneſs, and habitually altered by repeated Obligations. Dion* making uſe of theſe Arguments, pardoned *Heraclides* and diſmiſſed him.

And now reſolving to repair the Blockade about the Caſtle, he commanded all the *Syracuſians* to cut Paliſado's, and bring them to the Works; and

(1) It were to be wiſhed that all proud, paſſionate Perſons, ſuch as value themſelves upon returning with Intereſt the Injuries they receive, would liſten to this Doctrine, and learn from hence that the only true and ſubſtantial Excellence conſiſts in Goodneſs, Juſtice, and Humanity. This is a Truth which was well underſtood by that great Prince *Marcus Antoninus*, who ſaith *that real Force or Power conſiſts in Goodneſs.*

(2) This Deciſion is as true as it is profound. It is as ſtrong a ſign of weakneſs to revenge as it is to commit an Injury. The Injuſtice is equal in them Both. Thus *Plato* makes it appear that the eſtabliſhing this Maxim in life, "that it is allowable in a "Man to revenge himſelf, and "return Evil for Evil," is the way to make Juſtice the Off-ſpring of Injuſtice, and to open an inexhauſtible Spring of Injury and Iniquity; it is giving a looſe to thoſe Blood-hounds, Revenge and Violence.

(3) This is a fine Sentiment, but *Dion* made an unhappy Application of this Maxim in his kind Uſage and Humanity to *Heraclides*, whole Malice and Perverſeneſs of Spirit were too ſtrong and inveterate to be reformed and meliorated, ſo that he ſoon returned to his old Practices. But *Dion* did ſtill worſe in cauſing him at laſt to be ſlain after his repeated Provocations, and Relapſe into Sedition, and Revolt.

then

then diſmiſſing them to refreſh themſelves, and take their Reſt, he employed his own Men all Night, and by Morning had finiſhed his Line of Circumvallation, and fortified his Trenches. Both the Enemy and the Citizens next Day wondered to ſee the Works ſo far advanced in ſo ſhort a time.

As ſoon as theſe Works were finiſhed he buried the Dead, redeemed the Priſoners who were near two thouſand in Number, and called a Publick Aſſembly. There *Heraclides* made a Motion, That *Dion* ſhould be declared General at Land and Sea. The Nobility approved well of it, and deſired the Commonalty to aſſent. But the Sailors and Handycraftſmen would not conſent that *Heraclides* ſhould be deprived of his Command of the Navy; and tho' they knew him to be otherwiſe an ill Man, yet they believed he would be more compliant with the Populacy than *Dion*, and readier to ſerve their Ends. *Dion* therefore ſubmitted to them in This, and conſented that *Heraclides* ſhould continue Admiral. But when they began to preſs the levelling Project, of an equal Diſtribution of Lands and Eſtates, he not only oppoſed it, but repealed all the Votes they had formerly made upon that Account, which moſt ſenſibly vexed them. *Heraclides* took his Advantage of This, and being at *Meſſana*, he harangued the Soldiers and Ships Crews that ſailed with him, accuſing *Dion*, That he had a Deſign to make himſelf abſolute: And at the ſame time he held a private Correſpondence with *Dionyſius* by means of his Confident *Pharax*, a *Spartan*. Which when the Nobility of *Syracuſe* had Intimation of, there aroſe a Sedition in the Army, and the City was reduced to that Extremity, that they were almoſt famiſhed for want of Proviſion. *Dion* now knew not what Courſe to take, being blamed by all his Friends, for that he had

had encouraged againſt Himſelf ſuch a troubleſome, malicious, and perverſe Man as *Heraclides*.

Pharax at this time lay encamped at *Neopolis*. *Dion* therefore drew out the *Syracuſians*, but with an intent not to engage him, 'till he ſaw a fit Opportunity. But *Heraclides* and his Sea-men exclaimed againſt him, ſaying, *That he delayed Fighting on purpoſe, that he might the longer continue his Command*; ſo that, tho' much againſt his Will, he was forced to an Engagement, and was beaten. His Loſs indeed was inconſiderable, and his Defeat was owing more to the Miſunderſtanding in his own Army than the Courage of the Enemy; ſo that he reſolved upon a ſecond Engagement, and rallying his Men, and encouraging them to redeem their Credit, he drew them up accordingly. But in the Evening he received Advice, that *Heraclides* with his Fleet were under Sail for *Syracuſe*, with a Reſolution to poſſeſs himſelf of the City, and ſhut Him out. Upon this Intelligence, he made a Draught of the moſt Forward and Determined in the Cavalry, and marched all Night with ſuch Diligence, that he got thither by Nine the next Morning after a March of ſeven hundred Furlongs. *Heraclides*, tho' he ſtrove to make all the Sail he could, yet coming too late, tacked about and ſtood out again to Sea. Whilſt he was unreſolved what Courſe to ſteer, he accidentally met *Gæſylas* the *Spartan*, who told him that he was ſent from *Sparta* to command in Chief in *Sicily*, as *Gylippus* had done heretofore. Upon this Declaration *Heraclides* readily joined with him, and bragged to his Sailers, That *Now he had a Counter-balance to weigh down* Dion's *Ambition*. Hereupon he ſent a Herald to *Syracuſe* to ſummon them *to accept a* Spartan *General*: *Dion* returned Anſwer, *That the* Syracuſians *had Generals enow among them, and that if it was neceſſary to their Affairs that a* Spartan *ſhould command*

mand them, he could ſupply that Office, having the Honour Himſelf to be a Citizen of Sparta. When *Gæſylas* ſaw he had loſt his Hopes of being *Generaliſſimo*, he landed, and reconciled *Heraclides* to *Dion*, making *Heraclides* ſwear the moſt ſolemn Oaths to perform what he engaged, for which *Gæſylas* himſelf undertook to be Guarranty.

The *Syracuſians* then laid up their Navy, which was at preſent a great Charge, and of little uſe to them, but rather an occaſion of Differences and Diſſentions among the Generals; at the ſame time they continued the Siege, and finiſhed another Breaſt-work, with which they inveſted the Caſtle. The Beſieged ſeeing no hopes of Succours, and their Proviſions failing, began to Mutiny; ſo that *Apollicrates*, in deſpair of holding longer out for his Father, capitulated and articled with *Dion* to deliver up the Caſtle, with all the Garriſon-Soldiers and Ammunition, to have five Gallies and ſafe Paſs-port for Himſelf, his Mother, and Siſters, which *Dion* granted, and He ſailed with them to *Dionyſius*. There was ſcarce a Man in the City but went to behold the joyful Sight, calling upon Thoſe who were abſent to come and ſee that happy Day, and be Witneſſes how glorioufly the Sun now ſhined upon the *Syracuſians*, who were enfranchiſed and delivered from all their Slavery and Oppreſſion. This Flight of *Dionyſius*, being one of the greateſt and moſt remarkable Examples of Fortune's Inconſtancy, that any Hiſtory mentions, how extraordinary may we imagine their Joy to be? How entire their Satisfaction, after they had totally ſubverted the moſt potent Tyranny that ever was, and That by means ſo ſlight and inconſiderable?

When *Apollicrates* was under Sail, and *Dion* going to take Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, the Ladies could not ſtay while he made his Entry, but ran to meet him at the Gate. *Ariſtomache* led *Dion*'s Son,

Son, and *Arete* followed after weeping, fearful and dubious how to ſalute, or addreſs to her Husband, becauſe ſhe had ſo long accompanied with another Man. *Dion* firſt careſſed his Siſter, then his Son; when *Ariſtomache* bringing *Arete* to him, O Dion (ſaid ſhe) *your Baniſhment made us all equally miſerable, your Return and Victory has raiſed our drooping Heads, and cancelled all our Sorrows, excepting this poor Lady's, whom I, to my great Unhappineſs, ſaw compelled to be Another's, while You were yet alive. Fortune has now given you the ſole Diſpoſal of us; how will you determine concerning Her in theſe her neceſſitous Circumſtances? Or in what Relation muſt ſhe ſalute you, as her Uncle, or her Husband?* This Speech of *Ariſtomache*'s forced Tears from *Dion*, who with great Tenderneſs and Affection embraced his Wife, gave her his Son, and deſired her to retire to his own Houſe, where he intended to reſide, when he had delivered up the Caſtle to the *Syracuſians*. For tho' all things now ſucceeded to his Wiſh, yet he reſolved not to enjoy any preſent Advantage of his good Fortune before he had gratified his Friends, rewarded his Allies, and beſtowed upon his Fellow-Citizens and Foreign Soldiers ſome ſpecial Mark of Favour and Honour; his Generoſity herein exceeding his Ability, being content himſelf with a very frugal and moderate Competency; for which he was much admired. That when, not only *Sicily* and *Carthage*, but all *Greece* looked upon him as extreamly happy, and no Man living greater than He, no General more renowned for Valour and Succeſs: Yet in his Garb, his Attendance, and Table, he ſeemed as if he rather commoned with *Plato* in the Academy, than lived among his Soldiers and Officers, who love to be jolly, enjoy themſelves plentifully every Day, and chear their Hearts after the Toils of War, and Dangers they have paſt. *Plato* indeed writ to him, *that*



that the Eyes of all Men were now upon Him; but 'tis evident that (1) He Himself had fixed His Eye upon one particular Place, the Academy; and considered, That the Inquisitive and Judicious there regarded not his great Actions, his Courage, or his Fortune, but watched to see how temperately and humbly he could bear his Prosperity; with what Moderation and Unconcern he could behave himself in that honourable and happy Condition. Neither did he remit any thing of his wonted Reservedness in Conversation, or Majestical Carriage to the People; notwithstanding a little Condescension and obliging Civility was very necessary for his present Affairs. And *Plato*, as we said before, advised him to avoid a surly Demeanor, unless he intended to be abandoned by all Company, and live alone by Himself. But certainly he was naturally an Enemy to Complaisance; and besides, he had a Design to reform the *Syracusians*, and make them more grave and stayed, who were grown very dissolute, foppish and humersom.

Heraclides began again to set up against him, and being sent for one Day by *Dion* to Council, (2) he sent word he could not come to Council, or consult otherwise than as a private Citizen, and in a publick Assembly. Soon after he impeached *Dion*, because he had not demolish'd the Citadel, and because he had hindred the People from throwing down *Dionysius*'s Tomb, and doing despite to

(1) In what an advantagious Light does *Plutarch* place this Moderation, and Self-denial in *Dion*! Whilst all Mankind have their Eyes fixed upon Him, he is insensible to that universal Admiration, and fixeth His only upon the Academy, that School and Nursery of Wisdom and Virtue.

(2) *Heraclides* returned this Answer on purpose to cajole the People. He refused to go to the Council-board, because that Meeting was a Mark of the Aristocracy, and professed his Readiness to appear in the Assembly, because That was a Token of the Democracy, which he was willing to have re-established.

the Dead; moreover, he accuſed him for ſending to *Corinth* for Counſellors and Aſſiſtants in the Government, and thereby neglecting and ſlighting his Fellow-Citizens. And indeed he had prevailed with ſome *Corinthians* to come to him, hoping by their Means and Preſence the better to ſettle that Government he intended; for he deſigned to reſtrain the unlimited Power of the People; which indeed is not a Government, but (1) (as *Plato* calls it) a Shop or Warehouſe of all Sorts of Governments, and to eſtabliſh a Conſtitution compoſed of the *Lacedæmonian* and *Cretan* Plan, wherein *Ariſtocracy* would always prevail, and preſide in Affairs of the greateſt Importance; for he ſaw the *Corinthians* were chiefly governed by the Grandees, and that the People were but little concerned in publick Buſineſs.

Now, knowing that *Heraclides* would be his moſt conſiderable Adverſary, and that he was always a turbulent, fickle, and factious Man; (2) he gave way to Some, whom he had formerly prevented from putting the like Deſign in Execution, and allowed them to kill him. Accordingly they

(1) The Place *Plutarch* has here in View is in the Eighth Book of his Republick, where that Philoſopher makes it appear that in a pure Democracy every Man liveth as he liſts. And that as Women and Children delight in Clothes of all Sorts of Colours, there are ſome who for the ſame Reaſon delight in that Sort of Government. There a Man may pick out what Form pleaſeth him beſt, becauſe in That alone All are comprehended. It is a ſort of Fair, or publick Sale of Governments, ὥσπερ εἰς παντοπώλιον ἀφικομένῳ πολιτειῶν.

(2) I am not ignorant that we have ſome Stateſmen, who from the Character of *Heraclides*, his great Obligations to *Dion* and the then Situation of Affairs, will be apt enough to determine that it was allowable in *Dion* to remove that perpetual Obſtacle to all his Deſigns, for the Good of his Country; but I can tell them that they argue upon fallacious and corrupt Principles, and that no Man whatever is to be put to death without the formal Proceedings of Juſtice. We want no other Judge or Authority in this Point than *Dion*'s own Conſcience, which *Plutarch* will ſoon tell us was grievouſly tormented for that Murder.

broke

broke into his Houſe, and murdered him. His Death was much reſented by the Citizens: But when they ſaw *Dion* make him a ſplendid Funeral, follow his Herſe with all his Soldiers, and pronounce an Oration to the People, they were mollified, and forgave him, for they perceived that it would have been impoſſible to have kept the City quiet, as long as *Dion* and *Heraclides* were Competitors in the Government.

Dion had a Friend, called *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, who, *Plato* ſays, grew familiar with him, and his Confident not upon the Merit of his Learning, but becauſe he was introduced by him into ſome Myſterious Ceremonies of their Religion, and ſo contracted an accidental Acquaintance. This Man was all along with him in the Army in great Honour and Eſteem; being the firſt of his Friends, who marched by his ſide into *Syracuſe* with a Garland upon his Head, for that he had behaved himſelf very well in all the Action, and was become remarkable for his Courage and Gallantry. He finding that *Dion*'s principal and moſt conſiderable Friends were cut off in the War, *Heraclides* now dead, and the People without a Leader, and that the Soldiers had a great Kindneſs for Him, like a perfidious and wicked Villain, in Hopes to get the chief Command of *Sicily*, by the Ruin of his Friend and Benefactor; and, as ſome ſay, being bribed by the Enemy with twenty Talents to deſtroy *Dion*, inveagled and engaged ſeveral of the Soldiers into a Conſpiracy againſt him, contriving his execrable Plot in the manner following. He daily informed *Dion* of what he heard, or what he feigned the Soldiers ſaid againſt him; whereby he gained that Credit and Confidence, that he was allowed by *Dion* to conſort privately with whom he would, and talk freely againſt him in any Company, that he might diſcover who were his ſecret

and factious Malignants. By this means *Calippus* in a ſhort time got together a Cabal of all the ſeditious Diſcontents in the City; and if any one who would not be drawn in informed *Dion* that he had been tampered with, he was not troubled or concerned at it; believing *Calippus* did it in Compliance with his Directions.

While this Conſpiracy was a-foot, a ſtrange and dreadful Apparition was ſeen by *Dion*. As he ſat one Evening in a Gallery in his Houſe melancholy and thoughtful, hearing a ſudden Noiſe, he turned about, and ſaw at the End of the Room, by clear Day-light, a tall Woman, in her Countenance and Garb like one of the Tragical Furies, with a Broom in her Hand ſweeping the Floor; being amazed and terribly affrighted, he ſent for ſome of his Friends, and told them what he had ſeen; (1) entreating them to ſtay with him, and keep him Company all Night; for he was greatly aſtoniſhed and perplexed, fearing that if he were left alone, the Spectre would again appear to him: But he ſaw it no more. (2) A few Days after, his only Son, being almoſt grown up to Man's Eſtate, upon ſome Diſpleaſure and Pet he had taken on a childiſh and frivolous Occaſion, threw himſelf headlong from the Top of the Houſe, and brake his Neck.

(1) I am not ſurprized that *Dion* ſhould ſee an Apparition, for the Imagination of a Perſon ſo ſplenetick as *Dion* might preſent to him one of thoſe formidable Objects. But how comes it about that a man of ſo much Courage ſhould be ſo terribly frightened at it as to deſire his Friends to ſtay with him all Night? It was not for want of Courage that *Dion* retained his Friends with him, it was becauſe he would not expoſe himſelf to a ſecond Sight of this diſmal Object. For thoſe Phantoms never viſit a Man when he is in good Company, they appear to him only when he is alone.

(2) *Plutarch* relates this Event as an Explication of what was done by the Apparition. That Fury which ſeemed to be ſweeping the Houſe, began to ſweep it in earneſt by hurrying the Son of *Dion* to his Grave.

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While *Dion* was under this Affliction, *Calippus* drove on his Conſpiracy, and ſpead a Rumour among the *Syracuſians*, That *Dion* being now Childleſs, was reſolved to ſend for *Dionyſius*'s Son, *Apollocrates*, who was his Wife's Nephew, and Siſter's Grand-Son, and make Him his Heir and Succeſſor. By this time, *Dion*, his Wife and Siſter began to ſuſpect what was doing, and were from all Hands confirmed in the Belief of the Plot. *Dion*, as 'tis probable, being troubled for *Heraclides*'s Murder, which was like to be a Blot and Stain upon his Honour, and the glorious Actions of his Life, in great Axiety and Diſquiet declared, he had rather die a thouſand times, and open his Breaſt himſelf to the Aſſaſſine, than live not only in Fear of his Enemies, but Suſpicion of his Friends.

Calippus ſeeing the Ladies very inquiſitive to ſearch the Bottom of the Buſineſs, and fearing the Event, came to them, utterly denying it with Tears in his Eyes; and offering to give them whatſoever Aſſurances of his Fidelity they deſired: They required, that he would take the great Teſt and ſolemn Oath, which was after this Manner: The Juror went into the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; after the Performance of ſome Ceremonies, he was clad in the purple Veſtment of the Goddeſs, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, took his Oath. *Calippus* did as they required, and forſwore the Fact. But he ſo little valued thoſe Goddeſſes, that he ſtayed 'till the Feſtival of *Proſerpine*, by whom he had ſworn, and then committed his intended Murder; (1) not that the Solemnity of

(1) This Paſſage has been miſunderſtood by ſome of the Interpreters. The Words contain *Plutarch*'s own Reflection upon that impious and abominable Action. The Day of itſelf adds nothing to the Malignity of a Crime, which is equally offenſive to the Deity on whatever Day it is committed. This is undeniable. However

the Day could add any thing to his Crime, for the Goddeſs would have been as highly offended at his Impiety had he murdered *Dion* on any other Day, eſpecially ſince He was the Perſon who firſt introduced, and initiated him in the holy Myſteries.

There were a great many in the Conſpiracy; and as *Dion* was at home with ſeveral of his Friends in his Entertaining-Room, ſome of the Conſpirators beſet the Houſe round, others ſecured the Doors and Windows. The Aſſaſſines were *Zacinthians*, who went in to him in their ordinary Habit unarmed. They who were without ſhut the Doors and kept all faſt. The Murderers fell upon him, endeavouring to ſtifle him; but when That could not be effected, they called for a Sword in order to diſpatch him, but none durſt open the Door. There were a great many within with *Dion*, but every one was for ſecuring himſelf; ſuppoſing, that by letting Him loſe his Life, he ſhould ſave his Own; and therefore no Man ventured to aſſiſt him. When they had waited a good while, at length *Lycon* a *Syracuſian* reached a ſhort Sword in at the Window to one of the *Zacinthians*, and ſtunned and almoſt ſenſeleſs as he was, like a Sacrifice at the Altar, they cut *Dion*'s Throat.

After this deteſtable Murder they confined his Siſter, and Wife, who was then big with Child. The unhappy Lady fell in Labour in the Priſon, and was delivered of a Son, whom they Both undertook to preſerve, having firſt gained the Guards to that Effect, which was no difficult Point, be-

ever it muſt be allowed that the Horror and Impiety of the Action is more particularly conſpicuous in Him who chuſeth to commit it on a Day ſet apart for ſome religious Ceremonies, for thereby he profanes the holy Myſteries.

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cauſe *Calippus* began already to be embroyl'd in Troubles.

At firſt after the Murther of *Dion*, He was the only Man that was looked upon, and had the ſole Government of *Syracuſe* in his Hands. Nay, he preſumed to write even to *Athens*, whom of all the Cities he ought moſt to have dreaded next to the Immortal Gods, polluted as he was with ſo black a Murder. But it may truly be ſaid of that City, *That the good Men ſhe breeds are the moſt Excellent, and the Bad the moſt Notorious*; as the Soil of *Attica* produces the moſt delicious Honey, and the moſt deadly Poiſon. *Calippus* did not long continue to ſcandalize Fortune, and upbraid the Gods with his Proſperity, who ſeemed to wink at, and bear with that wretched Man, while he purchaſed Riches and Power by the moſt heinous and enormous Impieties, but he quickly received the Puniſhment he deſerved; for going to take *Catana*, he loſt *Syracuſe*; whereupon they report he ſaid, *He had loſt a City, and got a* (1) *Cheeſe-Grater*. Then attempting *Meſſene*, he had moſt of his Men cut off, and among the reſt, *Dion*'s Murtherers. When no City in *Sicily* would admit him, but all hated and abhorred him, he went into *Italy*, and took *Rhegium*; there being neceſſitous, and not able to maintain his Soldiers, he was killed by *Leptimus* and *Polyperchon*, and (as Fortune would have it) with the ſame Sword with which *Dion* had been aſſaſſinated, for it was known by the Size, being but ſhort, as the *Spartan* Swords commonly are, and by the Workmanſhip which was very curious and artificial. Thus *Calippus* received the Reward of his Villanies.

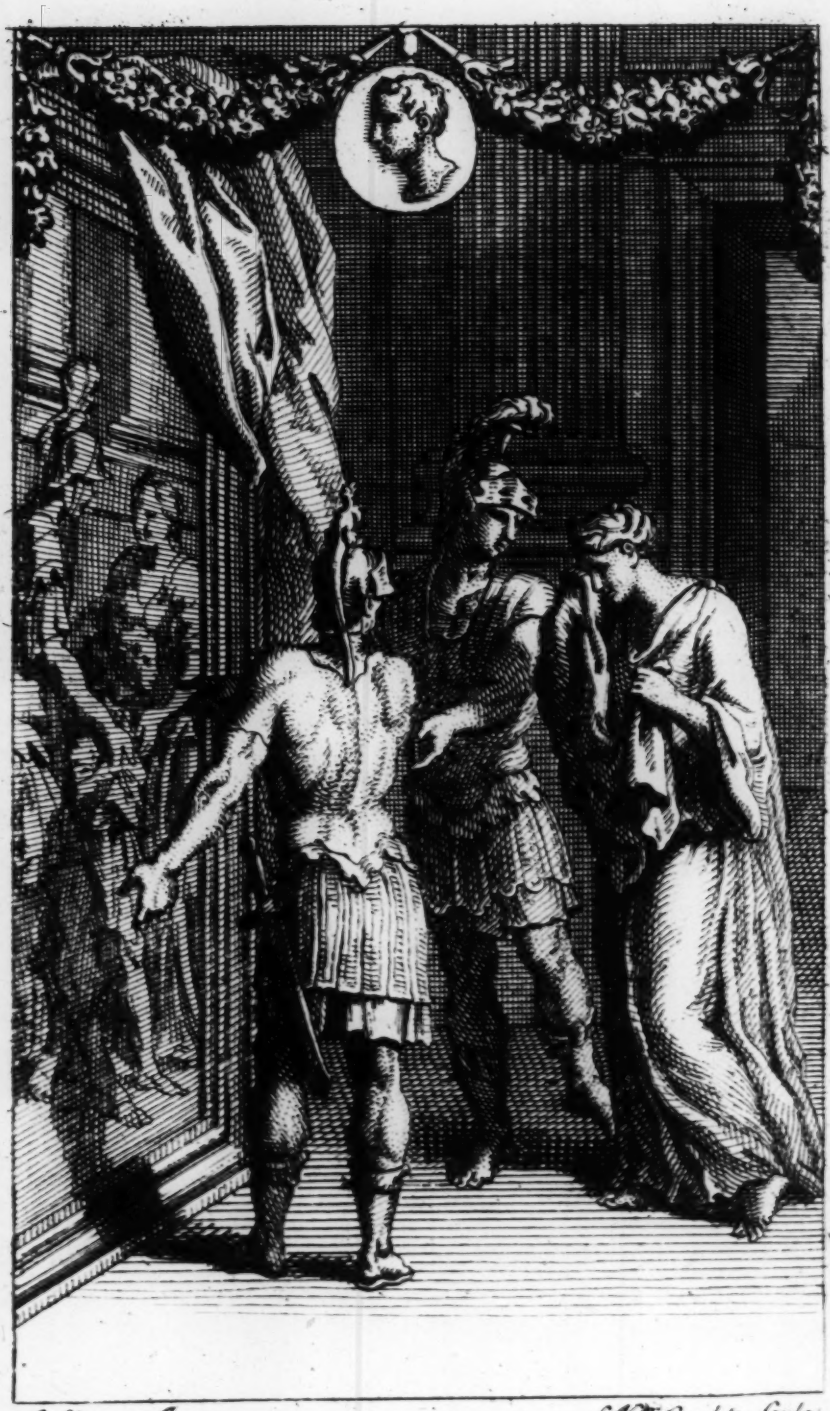
(1) This Inſtrument was called τραλάνη, inſtead of which the common People pronounced it τραλάνη; to which *Calippus* alluded on this Occaſion.

When *Ariſtomache* and *Arete* were releaſed out of Priſon, *Icetes*, one of *Dion*'s Friends, took them to his Houſe, and for a while entertained them well, and like a faithful Friend; afterwards, being perſuaded by *Dion*'s Enemies, he provided a Ship, and pretended to ſend them into *Peloponneſus*, but commanded the Sailors, when they came out to Sea, to kill them, and throw them over-board. Others ſay, that They and the little Boy were thrown alive into the Sea. (1) This Man alſo eſcaped not the due Recompence of his Wickedneſs, for he was taken by *Timoleon*, and put to Death; and the *Syracuſians*, to revenge *Dion*, ſlew his two Daughters; of which I have diſcourſed more particularly in the Life of *Timoleon*.

(1) This ſingle Life furniſheth us with many Inſtances of the divine Vengeance. *Dion* conſents to the Murder of *Heraclides*, and is Himſelf murdered ſoon after. *Calippus* gets *Dion* to be aſſaſſinated by ſome Soldiers of *Zant*, who periſh in a Siege, and *Calippus* is in his Turn aſſaſſinated by *Icetes* and *Polyperchon*. *Icetes* cauſeth *Ariſtomache*, *Arete*, and her infant Child to be deſtroyed, and He is put to death ſoon after by order of *Timoleon*, as are his two Daughters by the *Syracuſians*; ſo that divine Vengeance appeareth no where in greater Luſtre, to the Terror, and Conviction, if well attended to, of ſuch whoſe Diſpoſitions incline them to Arts of Rapine and Violence.

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L. Cheron Inv. *Vol: 8: p: 73.* *G.V.r Gucht Sculp.*

THE LIFE OF *MARCUS BRUTUS.*

Marcus Brutus was deſcended from that *Junius Brutus*, to whom the ancient *Romans* erected a Statue of Braſs in the Capitol, among the Images of their Kings, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, in remembrance of his Courage and Reſolution in expelling the *Tarquins*, and deſtroying the Monarchy. But that antient *Brutus* was of a ſevere and inflexible Nature, (like Steel of too hard a Temper) and not at all ſoftned by Study or Education; nay he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far tranſported with his Rage and Hatred againſt Tyrants, that for conſpiring with them, he proceeded to the Execution even of his own Sons. But this *Brutus* whoſe Life we now write, having to the Goodneſs of his Diſpoſition (1) added the Improvements

(1) And yet if he had ſoftned his Natural Diſpoſition by the Dictates of Reaſon, which he had imbibed in the Schools of the Philoſophers, he would never have deſtroyed *Caſar*, which was an Action not to be learnt, or approved by any Precepts of Philoſophy.

provements of Learning, and Study of Philoſophy, and having quickned his natural Parts, of themſelves grave and gentle, to qualify himſelf for Buſineſs and publick Affairs, ſeems to have been of a Temper exactly framed for Virtue; inſomuch that (1) They who were moſt his Enemies, upon the account of his Conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*, if in that whole Affair there was any honourable or generous Action done, refer it wholly to *Brutus*, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the Charge of *Caſſius*, *Brutus*'s moſt intimate and familiar Friend, but not at all like him in Honeſty and Virtue. His Mother *Servilia* was of the Family of *Servilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Manlius* had worked the People into a Rebellion, and deſigned to have made Himſelf King, taking a Dagger under his Arm, went forth into the Market-place, and upon pretence of having ſome private Buſineſs with him, (2) came up cloſe to him, and as he bent his Head to hear what he had to ſay, ſtuck him with his Dagger, and ſlew him. And thus much, as it concerns his Deſcent by the Mother's ſide, is confeſſed by all; but as for his Father's Family, They who for *Cæſar*'s Murther bore any Hatred or Ill-will to *Brutus* (3) will not allow his Deſcent from that *Brutus* who expelled the *Tarquins*, there being none of his Race left, after the Exe-

(1) It appears from this Paſſage that even in the days of *Plutarch* there were ſome remaining who hated the Memory of *Brutus* for the ſhare he had in the Murder of *Cæſar*; and I am of Opinion that the ſame Hatred continueth, and will do ſo to the End of the World.

(2) *Livy* relates this Hiſtory after a more probable manner. lib. iv. Sect. 14. And we are aſſured by ſome Hiſtorians that *Servilius*, who was at that time General of the Horſe, ſlew *Manlius* by order of the Dictator *Quintius Cincinnatus*. This happened near four hundred Years before the Murder of *Cæſar*.

(3) Of this Number is *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, who does not do it out of any prejudice to *Brutus*, but upon the Authority of the moſt faithful Hiſtorians; *Vid.* lib. v.

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cution of his two Sons; but that he was a *Plebeian*, deſcended from one *Brutus*, ſome Nobleman's Steward, of a mean Family, which but very lately was raiſed to any Office or Dignity in the Common-wealth. But *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writes, that it is true indeed what Hiſtory relates, that two of the Sons of *Brutus*, who were of Mens Eſtate, were put to Death, but that a Third, yet an Infant, was left alive, from whom the Family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*; and further, that there were ſeveral famous Perſons of this Houſe in His Time, and of his own Acquaintance, whoſe Looks very much reſembled the Statue of *Junius Brutus*. But of this Subject enough.

Cato the Philoſopher was Brother to *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, and He it was whom of all the *Romans* his Nephew moſt admired, and ſtudied to imitate, and afterwards married his Daughter *Porcia*. But of all the Sects of the *Greek* Philoſophers, tho' there was none of which he had not been a Hearer, and in which he had not made ſome Proficiency, yet he chiefly eſteemed the *Platoniſts*. He had no great Opinion either of the New, or Middle Academy, but applied himſelf wholly to the Study of the Ancient. For this Reaſon He was all his Life-time a great Admirer of *Antiochus*, of the City of *Aſcalon*, and took his Brother *Ariſton* into his own Houſe for his Friend and Companion, a Man for his Learning inferior indeed to many of the Philoſophers, but for the evenneſs of his Temper, and ſweetneſs of Converſation, equal to the Beſt. As for *Empylus*, of whom He Himſelf and his Friends made often mention in their Epiſtles, as of one who conſtantly lived with *Brutus*, he was an Orator, and has left behind him a ſhort but well-penned Hiſtory of the Death of *Cæſar*, entitled *Brutus*.

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In *Latin* he was a good Speaker, and had by conſtant Exerciſe attained a ſufficient Excellency in making publick Orations, and pleading Cauſes: But in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the ſententious and ſhort *Laconick* way of ſpeaking; in his Epiſtles eſpecially, as when in the beginning of the War he writ thus to the *Pergamenians*; *I hear you have given* Dolabella *Money*; *if you gave it willingly, you muſt own you have injured Me*; *if unwillingly, ſhew it, by giving willingly to Me.* And another time to the *Samians*: *Your Deliberations are tedious, your Actions ſlow*; *what think ye will be the end?* And of the *Patareans* thus: *The* Xanthians, *ſuſpecting my Kindneſs, have made their Country a Grave of Deſpair*; *the* Patareans, *truſting themſelves to me, have loſt nothing of their former Liberty*; *it is in your Power to chuſe the Judgment of the* Patareans, *or the Fortune of the* Xanthians. And this is the Style wherein his moſt remarkable Letters were uſually writ.

When he was but a very young Man, he accompanied his Uncle *Cato* to *Cyprus*, whither he was ſent with an Army againſt *Ptolemy*. But as ſoon as *Ptolemy* had killed himſelf, *Cato* Himſelf being detained by ſome neceſſary Buſineſs in the Iſle of *Rhodes*, ſent one of his Friends named *Caninius*, to take into his Care and Keeping the Treaſure of the King; but afterwards ſuſpecting his Fidelity, he writ to *Brutus* to ſail immediately to *Cyprus*, out of *Pamphylia*, where he then ſtayed to refreſh himſelf, being but newly recovered of a Fit of Sickneſs. He obeyed his Orders, but with a great deal of unwillingneſs, as well out of Reſpect to *Caninius*, who was thrown out of this Employment by *Cato* with ſo much Diſgrace; as alſo becauſe he eſteemed ſuch a Commiſſion too mean for a Gentleman, and not at all becoming Him, who was in the prime of his Youth, and given to Books and

and Learning. Nevertheleſs, applying himſelf to this Buſineſs, he behaved himſelf ſo well in it, that he was highly commended by *Cato*, and having turned all the Goods of *Ptolemy* into ready Money, brought the greateſt part of it in his own Ship to *Rome*.

About this time the State began to be embroiled, when *Pompey* and *Cæſar* taking up Arms againſt one another, the whole Government was turned into Confuſion. In this Conjuncture, it was generally believed that he would have taken *Cæſar*'s ſide; for his Father not long before had been put to Death by *Pompey*. (1) But He thinking it his Duty to prefer the Intereſt of the Publick before his own private Reſentments, and judging *Pompey*'s to be the better Cauſe, took part with Him; tho' formerly he uſed not ſo much as to ſalute or take any notice of *Pompey*, if he happened to meet him, eſteeming it a great Crime to have the leaſt Converſation with the Murtherer of his Father. But now looking upon him as the General of his Country, he liſted himſelf under his Command, and ſet Sail for *Sicily*, in Quality of Lieutenant to *Seſtius*, who had the Government of that Iſland. But finding no Opportunity there of ſhewing himſelf in any great Action, and hearing that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* were encamped near one another, and were preparing to begin the Battel, upon which the whole Empire depended, he came of his own accord to *Macedonia* to partake in the Danger. At his coming, it is ſaid, that *Pompey* was ſo ſurprized, and at the ſame time ſo pleaſed, that riſing from his Chair, in the ſight of all his Guards, he ſaluted

(1) This is the Action of a great Mind. *Brutus* embraceth the Party even of his Father's Murderer, becauſe he thought it more juſt than That of *Cæſar*, and conſidered Him as the Head of the State, of which *Cæſar* was the declared Enemy. An honeſt Stateſman has no other Intereſt at Heart but That of his Country.

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and embraced him, as one of the chiefeſt Men of his Party. All the time that he was in the Camp, excepting That which he ſpent in *Pompey*'s Company, (1) he employed in Reading and in Study, which he did not neglect even the Day before the great Battel of *Pharſalia*. It was the middle of Summer, and the Heat was very great, and the Camp ſuſtained many Inconveniencies, by being lodged in a marſhy Ground, and They who carried *Brutus*'s Tent had ſtayed a long while before they came. Yet tho' upon all theſe Accounts he was extreamly haraſſed, and out of Order, had forbore anointing himſelf 'till towards the middle of the Day, and eaten very ſparingly, whilſt the reſt were aſleep, or taken up with the Thoughts of to-morrow's Action, He ſpent his whole time 'till the Evening in writing an Epitome of *Polybius*. It is ſaid, that *Cæſar* had ſo great a Regard for him, that he ordered his Commanders by no means to kill *Brutus* in the Battel, but to ſpare him, if poſſible, and bring him ſafe to Him, if he would willingly ſurrender himſelf; but if he made any Reſiſtance, to ſuffer him to eſcape, rather than to do him any Violence. And This he is believed to have done out of Tenderneſs to *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*; (2) for *Cæſar* had, it ſeems, in

(1) It were to be wiſhed that our young Officers now-a-days would follow the Example of *Brutus*, and employ that time in reading good Books, which they uſually waſte in Trifles, and Debauch. This would enrich their Minds with great and noble Ideas, which would quicken their Courage upon Occaſion. Every Campaign ſpent in this Manner would not fail turning to a good Account.

(2) This Paſſion was no Secret, for one day *Cæſar* made her a Preſent of a Pearl which coſt him an immenſe Sum, and during the Civil Wars he aſſigned to her for a Trifle a conſiderable Eſtate, which had been confiſcated, and had been put up by him to publick Sale. This gave Occaſion to one of *Cicero*'s Witticiſms, for when every one was ſurprized to ſee at how cheap a Price it was paſſed over to *Servilia*. *Quo melius*, ſaith he, *emptum ſciatis*

Tertia

in his Youth, been very intimate with her, and ſhe paſſionately in Love with Him: And conſidering that *Brutus* was born about that time, in which their Loves were at the higheſt, *Cæſar* had ſome Reaſon to believe that he was begot by Him. There goes a Report too, that when ſome great and weighty Matters, concerning the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, which had like to have been the Deſtruction of the Common-wealth, were debating in the Senate; *Cato* and *Cæſar*, tho' differing in their Opinions, were placed near to one another: In the middle of the Debate a little Note was delivered to *Cæſar* from without, which he took and read ſilently to Himſelf. Upon This *Cato* cried out aloud, and accuſed *Cæſar for holding Correſpondence, and receiving Letters from the Enemies of the Common-wealth:* Many of the Senators being much concerned, and the Houſe in an Uproar, *Cæſar* delivered the Note, as he had received it, to *Cato*, who reading it, found it to be a lewd Letter from his own Siſter *Servilia*, and threw it back again in Rage to *Cæſar*, with theſe Words, *Keep it to your ſelf, you Sot*; and then went on upon the publick Buſineſs. So notorious was *Servilia*'s Love to *Cæſar*.

After the great Overthrow at *Pharſalia*, *Pompey* himſelf having made his Eſcape by Sea, whilſt *Cæſar*'s Army was ſtorming the Camp, *Brutus* ſtole privately out of one of the Gates, to a marſhy Place full of Water, and covered with Reeds, from whence venturing out in the Night, he got

Tertia deducta eſt. That you may have a better Opinion of the Purchaſe, you are to know that the Third is deducted; for it was ſaid that *Servilia* yielded up to *Cæſar* her Daughter *Tertia*, that is her Third. But the Grace and Sting of this Expreſſion is loſt in any other Language but the *Latin*, for *deducta* is an equivocal Expreſſion, being a mercantile Term, and a Word made uſe of in Tranſactions, which are not to be named.

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ſafe to *Lariſſa*. From *Lariſſa* he writ to *Cæſar*, who expreſſed a great deal of Joy to hear that he was ſafe, and having ſent for him, not only forgave him freely, but honoured and eſteemed him, equal at leaſt to his chiefeſt Friends. Now when no Body could give any certain Account which Way *Pompey* had taken his Flight, *Cæſar* walked for ſome time alone with *Brutus*, to try to find out what was his Opinion therein, and perceiving by his way of reaſoning that he knew more of his Motions than any one elſe, he gave into his Opinion, and bent his March towards *Ægypt*. But *Pompey*, who had indeed taken that very Courſe, as *Brutus* had conjectured, having reached *Ægypt*, was there barbarouſly murdered.

Brutus had ſo much Power with *Cæſar*, that he pacified and reconciled him to his Friend *Caſſius*, and ſpoke likewiſe in behalf (1) of the King of *Africa*. It is true many things were charged againſt him, ſome of a high and dangerous Nature, notwithſtanding which his Eloquence was ſo prevalent that he preſerved to him a great Part of his Kingdom. It is ſaid that at his firſt entrance and opening of the Cauſe *Cæſar* ſaid to his Friends, *I know not what this young Man intends, but whatever he intends, he intends it vehemently.* For his natural Firmneſs of Mind, not eaſily yielding or complying in Favour of every one that entreated him,

(1) It does not appear in any Author that *Brutus* ever pleaded for the King of *Africa*. But it is certain that he pleaded in Defence of King *Deiotarus*. This gave Occaſion to that memorable Saying of *Cæſar* concerning *Brutus*, as *Cicero* relates it in the firſt Letter of his 4th Book to *Atticus*. *De quo quidem ille, ad quem diverti, Cæſarem ſolitum dicere, magni refert hic quid velit, ſed quicquid volt, valde volt. Idque eum animadverſiſſe cum pro Deiotaro Nicæa dixerit, valde eum vehementer, & libere dicere.* It follows therefore that either this Paſſage in *Plutarch* is corrupted, or that it is a ſlip of his Memory, as has been obſerved by *Victorius* and *Cruſerius*.

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when it was ſet on work by the Motives of right Reaſon, and the Principles of Honeſty, which way ſoever it turned it ſelf, moved with great Vigour and Impetuoſity, and generally effected its Deſigns. No Flattery could ever prevail with him to liſten to unjuſt Petitions; and he reckoned, that to be overcome by the frontleſs Importunities of Suiters, tho' ſome compliment it with the Name of Modeſty and a ſhame to refuſe, was the fouleſt Diſgrace a great Man could ſuffer. And he uſed to ſay, *That he ſhrewdly ſuſpected, that They who could deny nothing, had not very honeſtly employed the Flower of their Youth.*

Cæſar being about to take an Expedition into *Africa* againſt *Cato* and *Scipio*, committed to *Brutus* the Government of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, to the great Happineſs and Advantage of that Province. For while Thoſe of other Provinces laboured under the Violence and Avarice of their Governors, and ſuffered as much Oppreſſion, as if they had been Slaves and Captives of War, *Brutus* put an End to all ſuch Inſolencies there, and by his eaſie Government made them amends for all their former Calamities, and reconciled and fixed all their Affections to *Cæſar*; inſomuch that it was a moſt welcome and pleaſant Spectacle to *Cæſar*, when in his Return he paſſed through *Italy*, to ſee the Cities that were under *Brutus*'s Command, and *Brutus* Himſelf increaſing his Train and Honour, and moſt obligingly attending him in his Progreſs.

Now ſeveral Prætorſhips being void, it was all Mens Opinion, that That of the chiefeſt Dignity, which is called the Prætorſhip of the City, would be conferred either upon *Brutus* or *Caſſius*; and Some ſay, that there having been ſome little Difference upon former Accounts between them, this Competition ſet them much more at Variance,

tho' they were allied, *Caſſius* having married *Julia*, the Siſter of *Brutus*. Others ſay, that this Contention was raiſed between them by *Cæſar*'s means, who had privately given each of them ſuch Hopes of his favouring their Pretenſions, as made them break out into this open Competition and Tryal of their Intereſt. *Brutus* had only the Reputation of his Honour and Virtue to oppoſe to the many and gallant Actions performed by *Caſſius* in his Youth againſt the *Parthians*. But *Cæſar* having heard each Side, and deliberating about the Matter among his Friends, ſaid, Caſſius *indeed pleads with moſt Juſtice, but* Brutus *muſt have the firſt Prætorſhip*. So another Prætorſhip was given to *Caſſius*; but the gaining of This could not ſo much oblige him, as he was incenſed for the Loſs of the Other. And in all other Things *Brutus* was Partaker of *Cæſar*'s Power as much as he deſired; for he might, if he had pleaſed, been the chief of all his Friends, and had Authority and Command beyond them All, but *Caſſius* by his Converſation drew him off from *Cæſar*, and turned him to Himſelf. Indeed he was not yet wholly reconciled to *Caſſius*, ſince that Competition which had been between them; but yet he gave Ear to *Caſſius*'s Friends, who were perpetually adviſing him *not to be ſo blind, as to ſuffer himſelf to be ſoftened and won upon by* Cæſar, *but to ſhun the Kindneſs and Favours of a Tyrant, which*, they intimated, Cæſar *ſhewed him, not to expreſs any Honour to his Merit or Virtue, but to unbend his Strength, and ſlacken the Vigour of his Mind*. Neither was *Cæſar* wholly without Suſpicion of him, nor wanted Informers that accuſed *Brutus* to him; but he feared indeed the high Spirit, and the great Authority, and the many Friends which he had, but thought himſelf ſecure in his Honeſty and Virtue. When it was told

told him firſt, that *Antony* and *Dolabella* deſigned ſome Diſturbance, *It is not*, ſaid he, *the fat and the long-haired Men that I fear, but the pale and the lean*; meaning *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. Afterwards when Some accuſed *Brutus* to him, and adviſed him to beware of him, laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, he ſaid, *What, do you think that* Brutus *will not wait out the time of this litle Body?* As if he thought None fit to ſucceed him in ſo great Power but only *Brutus*. And indeed it ſeems to be without doubt, that *Brutus* might have been the firſt Man in the Common-wealth, if he could have had Patience but a little time to be Second to *Cæſar*; if he would have ſuffered his Power inſenſibly to decay after it was come to its higheſt Pitch, and the Fame of his great Actions to die and wither away by Degrees. But *Caſſius*, a Man of a fierce Diſpoſition, and one who out of private Malice, rather than Love of the Publick, hated *Cæſar*, not the Tyrant, continually fired him and ſtirred him up; upon which Occaſion it was ſaid, *That* Brutus *could not endure the Imperial Power, but* Caſſius *hated the Emperor*. *Caſſius* pretended to have received many Hardſhips and Injuries from *Cæſar*. Among other things he complained of his having taken his Lions from him; for when *Caſſius* was deſigned for Ædile, he had cauſed many of them to be taken, and conducted to *Megara*, to be made uſe of in the Shews he was by vertue of his Office to exhibit to the People, but *Cæſar* finding them in *Megara*, when that City was taken by *Calanus*, he ſeized them to Himſelf. It is ſaid that theſe Lions proved very fatal to the *Megarians*, for when the City was given over for loſt, they broke open their Dens, pulled off their Chains, and let them looſe, to the end they might put a ſtop to the Impetuoſity of the Enemy, who were then entring the City; but They, inſtead of falling upon

the Enemy, turned upon the poor Inhabitants Themſelves, and as they fled up and down naked and defenceleſs tore great Numbers of them to Pieces, ſo that their very Enemies could not behold ſo miſerable a Spectacle without Horror, and Compaſſion. This, Some ſay, was the chief Provocation that ſtirred up *Caſſius* to conſpire againſt *Cæſar*; but they are much in the wrong: For *Caſſius* had from his Youth a natural Hatred and Rancour againſt the whole Race of Tyrants, which he ſhewed when he was but a Boy, and went to the ſame School with *Fauſtus*, the Son of *Sylla*; for He ſpeaking great Words amongſt the Boys, and extolling the unlimited Command of his Father, *Caſſius* roſe up, and ſtruck him two or three Boxes on the Ear: which when the Tutors and Relations of *Fauſtus* deſigned to enquire into, and to proſecute, *Pompey* forbad them, and ſending for both the Boys together, examined the Matter Himſelf. And *Caſſius* then is reported to have ſaid thus, *Come on*, Fauſtus, *dare to ſpeak before This Man thoſe Words that provoked me, that I may ſtrike thee again as I did before.* Such was the Diſpoſition of *Caſſius*.

But *Brutus* by many Perſuaſions of his familiar Friends, and many Letters from unknown Citizens, was rouzed up and puſhed on to this Undertaking. For under the Statue of his Anceſtor *Brutus*, who overthrew the Kingly Government, they writ theſe words, *O that we had a* Brutus *now!* And, *O that* Brutus *were alive!* And *Brutus*'s own Tribunal, on which he ſate as Prætor, was filled each Morning with ſuch Inſcriptions as theſe, *You are aſleep*, Brutus; and *You are not a true* Brutus. Now the Flatterers of *Cæſar* were the Occaſion of all This, for among other invidious Honours which they ſtrove to faſten upon *Cæſar*, they crowned his Statues by Night, with a deſign to ſtir up the People

People to ſalute him *King* inſtead of *Dictator*. But the quite contrary came to paſs, as I have more particularly ſhewn in the Life of *Cæſar*.

When *Caſſius* ſollicited Friends to engage in this Deſign againſt *Cæſar*, all readily conſented upon Condition *Brutus* would be Head of the Conſpiracy; for their Opinion was, that for this Enterprize they wanted not Hands or Reſolution, but the Reputation and Authority of a Man, ſuch as He was, to lead them on, (1) and by his Preſence juſtifie the Undertaking: That without Him they ſhould go about this Action with leſs Heart, and ſhould lie under greater Suſpicions when they had done it; becauſe they knew all the World would think that if the Action were juſt and honourable, they were ſure *Brutus* would not refuſe to engage in it.

Caſſius having conſidered theſe things with himſelf, went to *Brutus*, and made him the firſt Viſit after their falling out; and after the Compliments of Reconciliation paſſed, and former Kindneſſes renewed between them, he asked him, *if he deſigned to be preſent at the Senate on the Calends of* March, *for it was diſcourſed*, he ſaid, *that* Cæſar's *Friends intended then to move that he might be made King*. When *Brutus* anſwered, That he would not be there: *But what*, ſays *Caſſius*, *if they ſhould ſend for us? It is my Buſineſs then*, replied *Brutus*, *not to hold my Peace, but to ſtand up boldly, and die for the Liberty of my Country*. To which *Caſſius*, with ſome Concern, anſwered, *But what* Roman *will ſuffer you to die? What, do you not know yourſelf*, Brutus? *Or do you think that thoſe Inſcriptions that you find upon your* Prætor's *Seat, were put there by*

(1) This is much to the Honour of *Brutus*, but how can we ſufficiently deplore the Illuſion thoſe Men were under, who thought the Murder of *Cæſar* would paſs for an Action full of Honour and Juſtice if *Brutus* would be an Accomplice in it!

Weavers, Victuallers, *or the vile Rabble, and not by the firſt and moſt powerful Men of* Rome? *From other* Prætors *indeed they expect Largeſſes and Shows and Gladiators,* (1) *but from You they claim, as an hereditary Debt, the Extirpation of Tyranny; they are all ready to ſuffer any thing on your account, if you will but ſhew your ſelf ſuch as they think you are, and expect you ſhould be.* Which ſaid, he fell upon *Brutus*, and embraced him; and after This they parted, each to their ſeveral Friends.

Among thoſe of *Pompey*'s Faction there was one *Caius Ligarius*, whom *Cæſar* had pardoned, tho' accuſed for having been in Arms againſt him. This Man, not being ſo thankful for having been forgiven, as ſtomaching that Power which made him need a Pardon, hated *Cæſar*, but was one of *Brutus* his moſt intimate Friends. *Brutus* viſiting him one day and finding him ſick, *O* Ligarius, ſays he, *in what a time have you found out to be ſick?* At which Words *Ligarius* raiſing himſelf, and leaning on his Elbow, took *Brutus* by the Hand, and ſaid, *But, O* Brutus, *if you are on any Deſign worthy of your ſelf I am well.* From this time they tried the Inclinations of all their Acquaintance that they durſt truſt, and communicated the Secret to them, and took alſo into the Conſpiracy not only their familiar Friends, but as many as they believed bold and brave, and Deſpiſers of Death. For which Reaſon they concealed the Plot from *Cicero*, tho' he was very much truſted, and as well beloved by

(1) This Idea is full of Energy. What Force of Eloquence muſt there be in that Thought, which conſiders the Abolition of Tyranny effected by *Junius Brutus*, as a Debt upon his Deſcendants, who are obliged to diſcharge it! As long as there is one *Brutus* left of that Family he is bound to extirpate Tyranny. That which *Caſſius* ſaith in this Place is of a general Relation and Extent. The virtuous Actions of great Men are ſo many Bills of Debt drawn upon their Deſcendants, which they have no way to ſatisfy, or cancel, but by copying after them.

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them All, leſt to his own Diſpoſition, which was naturally timorous, adding the Warineſs and Caution of old Age, and weighing every Particular, that he might not make one Step without the greateſt Security, he ſhould blunt the Edge of their Forwardneſs and Reſolution, in a Buſineſs which required all the Diſpatch imaginable.

There were alſo two Others who were Companions of *Brutus*; *Statilius* the *Epicurean*, and *Favonius* a Follower of *Cato*, whom he left out of the Conſpiracy, for this Reaſon: As he was diſcourſing one Day with them at a diſtance, and propoſing ſome Queſtions to be diſputed of as among Philoſophers, to try what Opinion they were of, *Favonius* declared his Judgment to be, That a Civil War was worſe than the moſt unjuſt Tyranny: And *Statilius* held, That to bring himſelf into Troubles and Danger, upon the Account of evil or fooliſh Men, did not become a Man who had any Wiſdom or Diſcretion. (1) But *Labeo* who was preſent, contradicted them Both; and *Brutus*, as if it had been an intricate Diſpute, and difficult to be decided, held his Peace for that time; but afterwards diſcovered the whole Deſign to *Labeo*, who readily undertaking it, the next thing that was thought convenient, was to gain the other *Brutus*, ſir-named *Albinus*, a Man of himſelf of no great Bravery or Courage, but conſiderable for the Number of Gladiators which he bred up for the publick Shews, and the great Confidence *Cæſar* put in him. When *Caſſius* and *Labeo* diſcourſed with him concerning this Matter, he gave them no Anſwer: but meeting *Brutus* Himſelf alone, and finding that He was their Captain, he

(1) Philoſophy indeed furniſheth many good Arguments on the other ſide. But I ſhould have been glad if *Plutarch* had told us Thoſe uſed by *Labeo*; for it is certain that the Maxims of *Statilius* and *Favonius* were founded upon Reaſon.

readily conſented to partake in the Action; and the very Name of *Brutus* brought many Others, and Thoſe of the beſt Quality, over to the Conſpirators: Who tho' they neither gave or took any Oath of Secrecy, nor uſed any other ſacred Rite, to aſſure their Fidelity to each other, yet all of them kept their Deſign ſo cloſe, were ſo wary, and managed it ſo ſilently among themſelves, that tho' by Propheſies, by wonderful Apparitions and Prodigies, and by the Entrails of ſacrificed Beaſts, the Gods gave Warning of the Conſpiracy, yet could it not be believed.

Now *Brutus* conſidering that the greateſt Men of all *Rome* for Virtue, Birth or Courage, depended wholly upon Him, and ſurveying with Himſelf all the Dangers they were to encounter, ſtrove as much as poſſible, when abroad, to keep his Uneaſineſs of Mind to Himſelf, and compoſe his unquiet Thoughts; but at home, and eſpecially at Night, he was not the ſame Man, but ſometimes his working care would make him ſtart out of his Sleep, and other times he was ſo taken up with Thoughts, and ſo perplexed in his Mind, that his Wife, who lay by him, could not chuſe but take notice that he was full of unuſual Trouble, and had ſome dangerous and difficult Affair in Agitation. *Porcia*, as was ſaid before, was the Daughter of *Cato*; and *Brutus*, tho' her Couſin-german, had married her very young, tho' not a Maid, but after the Death of her former Husband, by whom ſhe had one Son named *Bibulus* after his Father; and there is a little Book of His ſtill extant, called *The Memoirs of* Brutus. This *Porcia* being addicted to Philoſophy, a great Lover of her Husband, and full of Courage and Prudence, reſolved not to enquire into *Brutus* his Secrets, before ſhe had made this Tryal of her Patience and Reſolution. She turned all her Attendants out of her Chamber, and

and taking a little Knife, ſuch as they uſe to cut Nails with, ſhe gave her ſelf a deep Gaſh in the Thigh, upon which followed a great Flux of Blood, and ſoon after violent Pains, and a dangerous Fever, occaſioned by the Anguiſh of the Wound. Now when *Brutus* was mightily afflicted for her, ſhe in the height of all her Pain ſpoke thus to him: *I*, Brutus, *being the Daughter of* Cato, *was given to you in Marriage, not like a Concubine, to partake only in the common Civilities of Bed and Board, but to bear a part in all your good, and all your evil Fortunes: And for my part, when I look upon you, I find no Reaſon to repent the Match; but from Me, what Evidence of my Love, what Satisfaction can you receive, if I may not ſhare with you in bearing your moſt hidden Griefs, nor be admitted to any of your Counſels that require Secrecy and Truſt? I know very well that Women ſeem to be of too weak a Nature to be truſted with Secrets; but certainly*, Brutus, *a virtuous Birth and Education, and a Converſation with the Good and Honourable, are of ſome force to the forming our Manners, and ſtrengthening our natural Weakneſs. And I can boaſt that I am the Daughter of* Cato, *and the Wife of* Brutus; *in which two great Titles, tho' before I put too little Confidence, yet now I have try'd my ſelf, and find, that even againſt Grief and Pain it ſelf I am invincible.* Which Words having ſpoke, ſhe ſhewed him her Wound, and related to him the whole Tryal that ſhe had made of her own Conſtancy: At which, being aſtoniſhed, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and *begged the Aſſiſtance of the Gods in his Enterprize, that he might live to be a Husband worthy of ſuch a Wife as* Porcia. So having ordered the Wound to be dreſſed he comforted his Wife and left her.

A Meeting of the Senate being appointed, at which it was generally believed that *Cæſar* would be preſent, the Conſpirators agreed to make uſe of that

that Opportunity: For then they might appear all together without Suſpicion; and beſides they had Hopes that all the moſt noble and leading Men of the Common-wealth who would be then aſſembled, as ſoon as the Deed was done, would immediately appear for them, and aſſert the common Liberty. (1) The very Place too where the Senate was to meet, ſeemed to be, by Divine Appointment, favourable to their Purpoſe: It was a Porch that had one Nich towards the Theater, in which there ſtood a Statue of *Pompey*, erected to him by the Common-wealth, when it adorned that part of the City with the Porticos and the Theater. To this Place it was that the Senate was called on the Ides of *March*; ſo that ſome God ſeemed to Them to bring *Cæſar* thither, to revenge upon him the Death of *Pompey*.

As ſoon as it was Day, *Brutus* taking with him a Dagger, which none but his Wife knew of, went abroad: The reſt met together at *Caſſius* his Houſe, and brought forth his Son, that was that Day to put on the *Manly Gown*, as it was called, into the *Forum*; and from thence going all to *Pompey*'s Porch, ſtayed there, and expected the coming of *Cæſar* to the Senate. Here it was chiefly that any one who had known what they had purpoſed, would have admired the unconcerned Temper, and the ſteady Reſolution of theſe Men, in the moſt dangerous Undertaking; for many of them being *Prætors*, and by their Office obliged to judge and determine Cauſes, did not only hear calmly all who

(1) How inconſiſtent is the Mind of Man! Theſe Conſpirators thought Providence itſelf interpoſed, and aſſigned the Place, where *Pompey*'s Statue was erected, for the Murder of *Cæſar*, in Revenge upon Him for the Death of *Pompey*. They fancy *Cæſar* was going to be puniſhed for a Murder which he never committed, and They are going to commit one Themſelves. And will not Providence be an Avenger of That likewiſe?

made any Application to them, or had any Suits depending before them, as if they were free from all other Thoughts, but decided Cauſes with as much Accuracy and Judgment, as they had heard them with Attention and Patience. And when a certain Perſon refuſed to ſtand to the Award of *Brutus*, and with great Clamour and many Atteſtations appealed to *Cæſar*, *Brutus* looking round about him upon Thoſe who were preſent, ſaid, Cæſar *does not hinder me, nor ſhall He hinder me from doing according to the Laws.* Yet there were many unuſual Accidents that diſturbed them, and by meer chance were thrown in their way: The firſt and chiefeſt was, The long Stay of *Cæſar*, tho' the Day was far ſpent, he being detained at home by his Wife, and forbidden by the Southſayers to go forth upon ſome Defect that appeared in his Sacrifice. Another was This, There came a Man up to *Caſca*, one of the Conſpirators, and taking him by the Hand, *You concealed*, ſaid he, *the Secret from Me, but* Brutus *has told me all.* At which Words when *Caſca* was ſurprized, the other ſaid laughing, *How come you to be ſo rich of a ſudden as to ſtand to be choſen* Ædile? So near was *Caſca* to have diſcovered the Secret, being deceived by the Ambiguity of the other's Diſcourſe. Then *Popilius Læna*, a Senator, having ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* very obligingly, whiſpered them ſoftly in the Ear, and ſaid, *My Wiſhes are with you, that you may accompliſh what you deſign, and I adviſe you to make no delay, for the thing is now no Secret.* This ſaid, he parted, and left them in a great Conſternation, ſuſpecting that the Deſign had taken Vent. In the mean while there came one in all haſte from *Brutus* his Houſe, and brought him News that his Wife was dead: For *Portia* being extreamly diſturbed with Expectation of this Event, and not able to bear the greateſs of her Cares,

Cares, could ſcarce keep her ſelf within Doors; and at every little Noiſe or Voice ſhe heard, leaping forth, and ſtarting ſuddenly, like one of the mad Prieſteſſes of *Bacchus*, asked every one that came from the *Forum*, *What* Brutus *was doing?* and continually ſent one Meſſenger after Another to enquire. At laſt, after long Expectation, the Strength of her Body could hold out no longer, but overcome with her Doubts and Fears, ſhe fainted away. She had not time to betake her ſelf to her Chamber, for as ſhe was ſitting amongſt her Women, a ſudden Want of Spirits, and a great Stupidneſs ſeized her, and her Colour changed, and her Speech failed her. At this Sight her Women made a great and lamentable Outcry, and many of the Neighbours running to *Brutus* his Houſe, to know what was the Matter, the Report was ſoon ſpread abroad that *Porcia* was dead; tho' ſhe recovered in a little while, and came to her ſelf again. When *Brutus* received this News, he was extreamly troubled, nor without Reaſon, yet was he not ſo carried away by his private Grief, as to neglect the publick Concern: For now News was brought that *Cæſar* was coming, carried in a Sedan; for being diſcouraged by the ill Omens that attended his Sacrifices, he had determined to undertake no Affairs of any great Importance that Day, but to defer them 'till another time, pretending that he was ſick. As ſoon as he came out of his Sedan, *Popilius Læna*, He who but a little before had wiſhed *Brutus* good Succeſs in his Undertaking, coming up to him, diſcourſed a great while with him, *Cæſar* ſtanding ſtill all the while, and ſeeming to be very attentive. The Conſpirators not being able to hear what he ſaid, but gueſſing, by what Themſelves were conſcious of, that this Conference was the Diſcovery of their Treaſon, were ſtrangely dejected, and looking upon one another,

other, agreed from each other's Countenances, that they ſhould not ſtay to be taken, but ſhould all kill themſelves. And now when *Caſſius* and ſome others were laying Hands upon their Daggers under their Robes, and were drawing them out, *Brutus* viewing narrowly the Looks and Geſture of *Læna*, and finding that he was earneſtly petitioning, and not accuſing, ſaid nothing, becauſe there were many Strangers to the Conſpiracy mingled amongſt them, but with a chearful Countenance encouraged *Caſſius*. And after a little while *Læna* having kiſſed *Cæſar*'s Hand, went away, ſhewing plainly, that all his Diſcourſe was about ſome particular Buſineſs relating to Himſelf.

Now when the Senate was gone in before to the Place where they were to ſit, ſome of the Conſpirators got cloſe to *Cæſar*'s Chair, pretending they had ſome Suit to make to him, and *Caſſius* turning his Face to *Pompey*'s Statue, is ſaid to have invoked it, as if it had been ſenſible of his Prayers. (1) *Trebonius* in the mean-while drew *Antony* towards the Door, and kept him in Talk without the Court. *Cæſar* now entered, and the whole Senate roſe up to him: As ſoon as he was ſate down, they all ſeemingly very officious crowded round about him, and ſet *Tullius Cimber*, one of their own Number, to intercede in behalf of his

(1) In the Life of *Cæſar* we are told that *Antony* was detained without by *Brutus Albinus*, and here he tells us it was by *Trebonius*. This is a manifeſt Contradiction; and not poſſible to be got over. *Plutarch* was miſtaken in the Life of *Cæſar*, and here he hits upon the Truth. All the Hiſtorians who mention this Action, ſay it was *Trebonius*, who entertained *Antony* at the Door. And *Cicero*, who is more to be relied upon than all the Hiſtorians put together, ſaith in expreſs Terms in his ſecond *Philippic*, addreſſing his Speech to *Antony* Himſelf, *Quum interficeretur Cæſar, tum te à* Trebonio *vidimus ſevocari.* And in the xiiith, *Sceleratum Trebonium? Quo celere? niſi quod Te idibus Martiis à debita tibi peſte ſeduxit.* Intimating that *Antony* deſerved the ſame Fate with *Cæſar*.

Brother

Brother who was baniſhed; they all joined their Prayers with His, and took *Cæſar* by the Hand, and kiſſed his Head and his Breaſt. But He rejecting at firſt their Supplications, and afterwards, when he ſaw they would not deſiſt, violently riſing up, *Tullius* with both Hands catched hold of his Robe, and pulled it off from his Shoulders, and *Caſca*, who ſtood behind him, drawing his Dagger, gave him the firſt, but a ſlight Wound, near the Shoulder. *Cæſar* preſently catching hold of the Handle of the Dagger, and crying out aloud in *Latin*, *Villain* Caſca *what doſt thou?* He in *Greek* calling to his Brother, bad him come and help him. Now being wounded by a great many Hands, and looking round about him to ſee if there was any way to eſcape, as ſoon as ever he ſpied *Brutus* with his Dagger drawn againſt him he let go *Caſca*'s Hand, and covering his Head with his Robe, gave up his Body to the barbarous Murtherers. They ſo eagerly preſſed towards the Body, and ſo many Daggers were hacking together, that the Conſpirators cut one another; *Brutus* particularly received a Wound in his Hand, and All of them were beſmeared with Blood.

Cæſar being thus ſlain, *Brutus* ſtepping forth into the middle of the Senate-houſe, intended to have made a Speech, and called back, and encouraged the Senators to ſtay; but they all frighted, ran away in great Diſorder, and there was a great Confuſion and Preſs of People about the Gate, tho' None purſued or followed; for they had firmly reſolved to kill no Body beſides *Cæſar*, but to call and invite all the reſt to Liberty. It was indeed the Opinion of all the Others, when they conſulted about the Execution of their Deſign, that it was neceſſary to cut off *Antony* with *Cæſar*, looking upon Him as an inſolent Man, an Affector of Monarchy, and one who had gained a powerful

ful Intereſt by his Converſation and Acquaintance in the Army. And This they urged the rather, becauſe at that time, to the natural Ambition and Haughtineſs of his Temper, there was added the Dignity of being Conſul and Collegue to *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* oppoſed this Counſel, inſiſting firſt upon the Injuſtice of it, and afterwards giving them Hopes that a great Change might be worked in *Antony*. For he did not deſpair, but that *Cæſar* being taken off, ſo honourable a Man and ſuch a Lover of Glory as *Antony*, ſtirred up with Emulation of their great Attempt, would lay hold of this Occaſion to be joint Reſtorer with Them of the Liberty of his Country. Thus did *Brutus* ſave *Antony*'s Life, but He in the general Conſternation put himſelf into a *Plebeian* Habit and fled. *Brutus* and his Party betook themſelves to the Capitol, and in their way ſhewing their Hands all bloody, and their naked Swords, proclaimed Liberty to the People. At the firſt all Places were filled with Lamentation; and the wild running to and fro, occaſioned by the ſudden Surpriſe and Paſſion that every one was in, made a great Tumult in the City. But no other Murther following, and no Man being ſpoiled of his Goods, the Senators and many of the People took Courage, and went up to the Conſpirators in the Capitol. *Brutus* made an Oration to them very Popular, and proper for the State Affairs were then in. Therefore when they applauded his Speech, and cried out to him to come down, they all took Confidence, and deſcended into the *Forum*; the reſt were promiſcuouſly mingled with one another; but many of the moſt eminent Quality attended *Brutus*, conducted him between them with great Splendor from the Capitol, and placed him in the *Roſtrum*. At the Sight of *Brutus* the Rabble, though conſiſting of a confuſed Mixture, and all diſpoſed to make a Tumult,

mult, were ſtruck with Reverence, and expected what he would ſay, with Order and with Silence, and when he began to ſpeak, heard him with all imaginable Quiet and Attention. But they all made it appear ſoon after how much they were diſpleaſed at the Action; for when *Cinna* began to ſpeak, and accuſe *Cæſar*, they broke out into a ſudden Rage, and railed at him in ſuch opprobrious Language, that the Conſpirators thought fit again to withdraw to the Capitol, and *Brutus* expecting to be beſieged, diſmiſſed the moſt Eminent of thoſe who had accompanied them thither, not thinking it juſt that They who were not Partakers of the Fact ſhould ſhare in the Danger. But the next Day the Senate being aſſembled in the Temple of *Tellus*, and *Antony* and *Plancus* and *Cicero* having made Orations, to move the People to forget what was paſt, and to be mutually reconciled, it was decreed, That the Conſpirators ſhould not only be put out of all Fear or Danger, but that the Conſuls ſhould take care of what Honours and Dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. When This was done, the Senate broke up, and *Antony* having ſent his Son as an Hoſtage to the Capitol, *Brutus* and his Accomplices came down, and mutual Salutes and Invitations paſt between them. *Antony* invited *Caſſius* to Supper, *Lepidus* did the ſame by *Brutus*, and the reſt were invited and treated by Others, as each of them had either Acquaintance or Friends among them.

As ſoon as it was Day, the Senate ordered Thanks to *Antony*, for having ſtifled the beginning of a Civil War; afterwards *Brutus* and his Aſſociates preſent received likewiſe the Thanks of the Senate, and had Provinces aſſigned, and diſtributed among them. *Crete* was allotted to *Brutus*, *Africa* to *Caſſius*, *Aſia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and to the other *Brutus* that part of *Gallia* which lies

lies about the *Po*. After these things, they began to consider of *Cæsar*'s Will, and the ordering of his Funeral; *Antony* desired that the Will might be read, and that the Body should not have a private or dishonourable Interment, lest That should further exasperate the People. This *Cassius* violently opposed, but *Brutus* yielded to it, in which he seems to have a second time miscarried: For as before in sparing the Life of *Antony*, he could not be without some blame from his Party, in preserving a Person who was a violent Enemy to the Conspiracy; so now in suffering him to have the ordering of the Funeral, he fell into a total and irrecoverable Error. For first, it appearing by the Will, that *Cæsar* had bequeathed to the *Roman* People three hundred Sesterces a Man, and given to the Publick his Gardens beyond *Tyber* (where now the Temple of *Fortune* stands) the whole City was fired with a wonderful Affection for him, and a passionate Sense of the loss of him. And afterwards when the Body was brought forth into the *Forum*, *Antony*, as the Custom was, making a Funeral Oration in the Praise of *Cæsar*, and finding the Multitude moved with his Speech, to stir them up yet farther to Compassion, he unfolded the bloody Garment of *Cæsar*, shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his Wounds. Hereupon there was nothing to be seen but Confusion, Some cried out to kill the Murderers, Others (as was formerly done in the Case of *Clodius* that Firebrand of Sedition) tore away the Benches and Tables out of the Shops round about, and heaping them all together, raised a great Funeral Pile, and having put the Body of *Cæsar* upon it, set it on Fire. The place wherein This was done, was surrounded with a great many Temples and other consecrated Houses, so that they seemed to burn the Body in

a kind of sacred Solemnity: As soon as the Fire flamed out, the Multitude flocking in, Some from one part, and Some from Another, snatched the Brands that were half burnt out of the Pile, and ran about the City to fire the Houses of the Conspirators. But They having before-hand well fortified themselves, escaped the Danger.

There was a certain Poet, called *Cinna*, not at all concerned in the Guilt of the Conspiracy, but on the contrary one of *Cæsar*'s Friends: This Man dreamt that he was invited to Supper by *Cæsar*, and that he denied to go, but that the Emperor entreated, and prest him to it very earnestly; and at last taking him by the Hand led him into a very deep and dark place, whither he was forced against his Will to follow, in great Consternation and Amazement. After this Vision he had a Fever the most part of the Night, nevertheless in the Morning hearing that the Body of *Cæsar* was to be carried forth to be Interred, he was ashamed not to be present at the Solemnity; but came abroad, and mingled himself with the People after they had been thus stirred up, and enraged by the Speech of *Antony*. The Multitude perceiving him, and taking him not for that *Cinna*, (who indeed he was) but for Him who a little before in a Speech to the People had reproached and inveighed against *Cæsar*, fell upon him and tore him to pieces. This Action chiefly, and the Alteration that *Antony* had wrought, so alarmed *Brutus* and his Party, that for their Safety they retired from the City: The first stay they made was at *Antium*, with a Design to return again as soon as the Fury of the People had spent it self and was abated, which they expected would soon and easily come to pass, in an unsettled Multitude, apt to be carried away with such sudden and impetuous gusts of Passion, especially since they had the Senate so favourable to them:

Which

Which though they took no notice of those who had torn *Cinna* to pieces, yet made a strict search, and apprehended in order to Punishment such as had assaulted the Houses of the Conspirators. By this time also the People began to be dissatisfied with *Antony*, who they perceived was setting up a kind of Monarchy for Himself; they longed for the return of *Brutus*, whose Presence they expected, and hoped for at the Games, and Spectacles, which He, as Prætor, was to exhibit to the Publick. But He having Intelligence that many of the old Soldiers who had born Arms under *Cæsar*, by Whom they had had Lands and Colonies given them, lay in wait for him, and by small Parties at a time had stolen into the City, would not venture to come Himself; however in his Absence, there were most magnificent and costly Shows exhibited to the People; for having bought up a great number of all sorts of wild Beasts, he gave positive Order, that not any of them should be given away, or saved, but that they should be all used in those Spectacles. He went in Person as far as *Naples*, to procure a considerable number of *Comedians*; and hearing of one *Canutius* who was very much cried up for his Acting upon the Stage, he writ to his Friends, to use all their Entreaties to bring him to *Rome*, (for being a *Græcian*, he could not be compelled;) he writ also to *Cicero*, begging him by no means to omit being present at the Publick Shews.

This was the Posture of Affairs, when another sudden Alteration was made, upon *Octavius* his Arrival at *Rome*; he was Son to the Sister of *Cæsar*, who adopted him, and left him Heir by his Will. At the time when the Murther was committed, he was following his Studies at *Apollonia*, where he staid expecting to meet *Cæsar*, in the Expedition he had designed against the *Parthians*; but

hearing of his Death he immediately came to *Rome*, and to ingratiate himſelf with the People, taking upon Himſelf the Name of *Cæſar*, and punctually diſtributing among the Citizens the Money that had been left them by the Will, he ſoon got the better of *Antony*; and by his Largeſſes, which he liberally diſperſed amongſt the Soldiers, gathered together and brought over to his Party, a great number of Thoſe who had ſerved under *Cæſar*. *Cicero* Himſelf, out of the Hatred which he bore to *Antony*, ſided with *Octavius*; which *Brutus* took ſo ill, that he treated with him very ſharply in his Letters, telling him, *That he perceived* Cicero *could well enough endure a Tyrant, but was afraid that He who hated him ſhould be the Man; that in writing and ſpeaking ſo well of* Octavius, *he ſhewed that his only aim was to enjoy an eaſie and gentle Slavery: But our Forefathers* (ſaid *Brutus*) *could not brook even gentle Maſters.* Further he added, *That for his own part he had not as yet fully reſolved, whether he ſhould make War or Peace: But that as to one point he was fixed and ſettled, which was never to be a Slave; that he wondered* Cicero *ſhould fear the danger of a Civil War, and not be much more afraid of a diſhonourable and infamous Peace: That all he could hope for in deſtroying the Tyranny of* Antony, *was to make* Octavius *the Tyrant.* And This is the Subſtance of *Brutus*'s firſt Letters to *Cicero*.

The City being now divided into two Factions, Some betaking themſelves to *Cæſar*, and Others to *Antony*, the Soldiers ſelling themſelves, as it were, by publick Out-cry, and going over to Him who would give them moſt, *Brutus* began to deſpair of any good Event of ſuch Proceedings, and reſolving to leave *Italy*, paſſed by Land through *Leucania*, and came to *Elea* which is ſituated on the Sea-ſide. From hence it was thought convenient, that *Porcia* ſhould return to *Rome*; ſhe was overcome with Grief

Grief to part from *Brutus*, but ſtrove as much as was poſſible to conceal it; but in ſpight of all her Manly Reſolutions, a Picture which ſhe found there accidentally betrayed it. The Story of it was that Parting of *Hector* from *Andromache*, when he went to engage the *Greeks*, giving his young Son *Aſtyanax* into her Arms, and *Andromache* fixing her Eyes upon him, with an earneſt and affectionate Look. As ſoon as ſhe eſpied this Piece, the Reſemblance it bore to her own Concern made her burſt out into Tears, and ſeveral times a Day ſhe walked where that Picture hung to gaze at it, and weep before it. Upon this occaſion, when *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s Friends, repeated out of *Homer* theſe Verſes, wherein *Andromache* ſaith,

Yet while my Hector *ſtill ſurvives, I ſee*
My Father, Mother, Brethren, all in Thee. Pope.

Brutus replyed with a Smile, *But I muſt not anſwer* Porcia, *as* Hector *did* Andromache,

——*haſten to thy Tasks at home,*
There guide the Spindle, and direct the Loom. Pope.

For tho' the natural Weakneſs of her Body hinders her from acting what only the Strength of Men can perform, yet ſhe has a Mind as valiant, and as active for the good of her Country, as the Beſt of us. This Relation is in the Memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus*, the Son of *Porcia*.

Brutus took Ship from thence, and ſailed to *Athens*; where he was received by the People with great Demonſtrations of Kindneſs, which they expreſſed in their loud Acclamations, and the Honours decreed him by the Publick. He lived there with one who had been formerly his Gueſt, and was a conſtant Auditor of *Theomneſtus* the *Academick*, and

Cratippus the *Peripatetick*, with whom he was ſo engaged in a Philoſophical Converſation, that he ſeemed to have laid aſide all thoughts of publick Buſineſs, that he might be wholly at leiſure for Study and Philoſophy. But all this while being unſuſpected he was ſecretly making Preparation for War; in order to which he ſent *Heroſtrates* into *Macedonia*, to bring over the Commanders that were there to his ſide, and He Himſelf careſſed and won upon the Affections of all the young *Roman* Gentlemen, who were then Students at *Athens*. Of this Number was *Cicero*'s Son, whom he every where highly extolled, and ſaid, that *whether ſleeping or waking, he could not chuſe but admire a young Man of ſo great a Spirit, and ſuch a Hater of Tyrants.*

At length he began to act openly, and to appear in publick Buſineſs; and being informed, that there were ſeveral *Roman* Ships very richly laden, that in their Courſe from *Aſia* were to touch at *Athens*, and that they were commanded by one of his Friends, he went and met him near *Caryſtus*, a City of *Eubœa*. There entering into a Conference with him he perſuaded him to deliver up the Ships to Him, and made him a very ſplendid Entertainment, for it happen'd to be his Birth-day. Now when they came to drink ſomewhat briskly, and were making Libations for Victory to *Brutus*, and Liberty to *Rome*; *Brutus*, to animate them the more, called for a larger Bowl, and holding it in his Hand, upon no Occaſion or Fore-thought on a ſudden pronounced aloud this Verſe,

(1) *Fate and* Apollo *againſt me conſpire.*

Some

(1) This was ſpoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of Death, and *Plutarch* will have it that *Brutus* quoted it on a ſudden without any Premeditation, or any preceding Circumſtance to prompt

Some Hiſtorians write, that in the laſt Battel which he fought at *Philippi*, the Word that he gave to the Soldiers was *Apollo*, and from thence conclude, that this ſudden unaccountable Exclamation of His was a Preſage of the great Overthrow that he ſuffered there.

Antiſtius, the Commander of theſe Ships, at his Parting gave him five hundred thouſand Seſterces of the Money that he was conveying to *Italy*. And all the Remains of *Pompey*'s Army, which after their General's Defeat wandred about *Theſſaly*, readily and joyfully joined themſelves to *Brutus*. Beſides This he took from *Cinna* five hundred Horſe which he was leading to *Dolabella* in *Aſia*. After that he ſailed to *Demetrias*, and there ſeized a great Quantity of Arms, which had been provided by the Command of *Julius Cæſar* for the *Parthian* War, and were now deſigned to be ſent to *Antony*. Then was *Macedonia* put into his Hands, and delivered up by *Hortenſius* the Prætor, and all the Kings and Potentates round about willingly offered themſelves to join with him. When News was Brought that *Caius*, the Brother of *Antony*, having paſſed through *Italy*, was marched on directly to join the Forces that *Gabinius* commanded in *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* deſigned to prevent him, and to ſeize them firſt, and in all haſte moved forwards with as many as he had about him; his March was very difficult, through rugged Places, and in a great Snow, but ſo ſwift, that he had left

prompt him to it. But we are not to imagine that it was pronounced by *Brutus* inconſiderately, and at Random. They were then drinking to the Liberty of *Rome*; this Liberty was the Fruit of *Cæſar*'s Death, and as his Imagination was full of that Action he pronounced this Verſe in *Homer* to ſignify that in committing that Murder he had only lent a helping Hand to Fate, and *Apollo*, and that the Death of *Cæſar* was purely owing to the Gods, and his Cruel Deſtiny. But this Line which he applied to the Death of that Prince, was found in the Event to be a Preſage of his Own.

Thoſe who were to bring his Proviſions a great Way behind. And now being very near to *Dyrrachium*, with Wearineſs and Cold, he fell into a Diſtemper called *Bulimia*, or Violent Hunger: This is a Diſeaſe which ſeizes both Men and Cattle, after much Labour, and eſpecially in a great Snow: Whether it is cauſed by the natural Heat, which, when the Body is ſeized with Cold, is forced all inwards, and ſuddenly conſumes all the Nouriſhment laid in; or whether the ſharp and ſubtil Vapour, which comes from the Snow as it diſſolves, cuts the Body, as it were, and deſtroys the Heat which is thence diſperſed through the Pores; for the Sweatings, which are frequent in this Diſtemper, ſeem to ariſe from the Heat meeting with the Cold, and being quencht by it in the Superficies of the Body. But of This I have diſcourſed more at large in another place. *Brutus* growing very faint, and there being none in the whole Army who had any thing for him to eat, his Servants were forced to have Recourſe to the Enemy, and going as far as to the very Gates of the City, begged Bread of the Centinels that were upon Duty. As ſoon as they heard of the ſad Eſtate of *Brutus*, they came Themſelves, and brought both Meat and Drink along with them; for which Act of Humanity *Brutus*, when he took the City, ſhewed all Kindneſs and Civility, not to Them only, but to all the reſt of the Inhabitants for their Sakes.

Caius Antonius being now arrived at *Apollonia*, ſummoned all the Soldiers that were quartered near that City to join him there; but finding that they nevertheleſs went all to *Brutus*, and ſuſpecting that even Thoſe of *Apollonia* were inclined to the ſame Party, he quitted that City, and came to *Buthrotus*; having firſt loſt three Companies of his Men, who in their March thither were cut to Pieces by *Brutus*. After This attempting to make himſelf Maſter

Maſter of ſome ſtrong Places about *Byllis*, which the Enemy had firſt ſeized, he was overcome in a ſet Battel by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* gave the Command of the Army that Day, and whoſe Conduct he made Uſe of often, and with great Succeſs. *Caius Antonius* was ſurprized in a marſhy Place, from whence he could not retire; and *Brutus*, having him in his Power, would not ſuffer his own Soldiers to fall upon Thoſe of the Enemy; but encompaſſing them with his Horſe, gave Command that none of them ſhould be killed, for that in a little time they would All be of his ſide; which accordingly came to paſs, for they ſurrendered both Themſelves and their General: So that *Brutus* had by this time a very great and conſiderable Army. He ſhewed all Marks of Honour and Eſteem to *Caius Antonius* for a long time, nor took away any of his Titles or Dignities, tho' as Some report, he had ſeveral Letters from *Rome*, and particularly from *Cicero*, adviſing him to put him to Death. But at laſt *Brutus* perceiving that he began to hold private Conſults, and corrupt his Officers, and was raiſing a Sedition amongſt the Soldiers, he put him aboard a Ship, and kept him cloſe Priſoner. In the mean time, the Soldiers who had been corrupted by him were retired to *Apollonia*, from whence they ſent *Brutus* Word that if he would come thither to them they would return to their Duty. He anſwered, *That This was not the Cuſtom of the* Romans, *but that it became Thoſe who had offended to come Themſelves to their General, and beg Forgiveneſs of their Crimes*, which they did, and accordingly received their Pardon.

As he was preparing to paſs into *Aſia*, there was an Account brought to him of the Alteration that had happened at *Rome*, where the young *Cæſar* aſſiſted by the Senate, in Oppoſition to *Antony*, was got into great Power. And having now

thrown his Competitor out of *Italy*, began Him ſelf to be very formidable; Suing for the Conſulſhip contrary to Law, and maintaining a great Army, of which the Common-wealth had no manner of Need. At length perceiving that the Senate, diſſatisfied with his Proceedings, began to caſt their Eyes abroad upon *Brutus*, and decreed and confirmed the Government of ſeveral Provinces to Him, he was in ſome Apprehenſion of Danger. Therefore diſpatching Meſſengers to *Antony*, he deſired that there might be a Reconciliation, and a ſtrict Friendſhip between them. Then drawing all his Forces about the City he in a manner forced them to chuſe him Conſul, tho' he was but very young, being ſcarce twenty Years old, as He Himſelf writes in his Commentaries. At his firſt Entry upon the Conſulſhip he immediately ordered a Judicial Proceſs to be iſſued out againſt *Brutus* and his Accomplices, for having murthered the greateſt Man, and the higheſt Magiſtrate of *Rome*, without being heard or condemned; and appointed *L. Cornificius* to accuſe *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa* to accuſe *Caſſius*. None appearing to plead their Cauſe, the Judges were forced to paſs Sentence and condemn them Both. It is reported, that when the Crier (as the Cuſtom was) with a loud Voice cited *Brutus* to appear, the People could not keep in their Sighs, and Thoſe of the beſt Quality hung down their Heads for Grief. *Publius Silicius* was ſeen to burſt out into Tears, which was the Cauſe that not long after he was put down in the Liſt of Thoſe who were proſcribed. Now the *Triumviri*, *Cæſar*, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, being perfectly reconciled, ſhared the Provinces among Themſelves, and made up that black Liſt or Proſcription of two hundred *Roman* Citizens, who had a Price ſet upon their Heads, and were doomed to die, in which Number was *Cicero*, who was ſlain on that Occaſion.

ſion. This News being brought to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, he was forced to ſend Orders to *Hortenſius*, that he ſhould kill *Caius Antonius*, in Revenge of the Death of *Cicero* his Friend, and *Decius Brutus*'s near Kinſman, who alſo was proſcribed and ſlain. Upon this Account it was that *Antony*, having afterwards taken *Hortenſius* in the Battel of *Philippi*, ſlew him upon his Brother's Tomb. *Brutus* declared openly (1) *that he was more aſhamed for the Cauſe of* Cicero's *Death, than grieved for the Misfortune of it, and could not help accuſing his Friends at* Rome, *who were Slaves more through their own Fault, than of Thoſe who Lorded it over them: and could ſee and be preſent, and yet ſuffer thoſe things, which even to hear related, ought to have been inſupportable.*

Brutus having cauſed his Army, which was already very conſiderable, to paſs into *Aſia*; ordered a Fleet to be made ready in *Bythinia* and *Cyzicum* for them to imbark in: But himſelf going the Way by Land, took Care to ſettle and confirm to Himſelf all the Cities, and gave Audience to the Princes of the Parts through which he paſſed; and ſent Orders to *Caſſius* in *Syria* to come to him, and leave his intended Journey into *Ægypt*; letting him underſtand, *that it was not to gain an Empire for Themſelves, but to free their Country, that they had got an Army together; that they were not to run wandering up and down, but remembring what they had undertaken, and perſevering in their firſt Intentions, they ought not to be too far from* Italy, *but to make what haſte they could thither, and endeavour to relieve their Fellow-Citizens.*

(1) For the Death of *Cicero*, who was then ſixty four Years of Age, was a common Accident, and might have been born with; but nothing could be more horrid and deplorable than that accurſed League which was the Cauſe of it, and under which the whole Empire moſt ſhamefully truckled. This was what ought to be lamented by every true *Roman*.

Caſſius

Caſſius obeyed his Summons, and ſet out to join him. At the ſame time *Brutus* went to meet him, and their firſt Interview was at *Smyrna*. This was the firſt time they had ſeen one another ſince they parted at *Piræus* in *Athens*; One for *Syria*, and the Other for *Macedonia*. They were Both overjoyed, and raiſed to the higheſt Degree of Confidence of their Succeſs, from the Forces that each of them had got together: for whereas when they left *Italy* they were forced in a manner to fly from it like deſpicable Exiles, without Money, without Arms, without a Ship, a Soldier, or City to rely on, they were now notwithſtanding in ſo ſhort a ſpace met together, ſo well furniſhed with Shipping and Money, and an Army both of Horſe and Foot, that they were in a Condition to contend for the Empire of *Rome*. *Caſſius* was deſirous to ſhew as much Reſpect and Honour to *Brutus*, as *Brutus* did to Him: But *Brutus* ſtill prevented him, for the moſt part coming to Him, both becauſe he was the elder Man, and of a more weakly Conſtitution than Himſelf. Men generally reckoned *Caſſius* a very expert Soldier, but of a harſh and angry Nature, and one who deſired to Command rather by Fear than Love; though on the other ſide among his familiar Acquaintance he was given to ſcurrilous Jeſting, and loved to play the Buffoon. But *Brutus*, for the ſake of his Virtue, was eſteemed by the People, beloved by his Friends, admired by all good Men, and hated by none, no, not even his very Enemies: For he was of an extraordinary mild Nature, great Magnanimity, inſenſible of the Paſſions of Anger, Pleaſure, or Covetouſneſs; ſteady and inflexible in his Opinion, and zealous for whatever he thought Juſt and Honeſt. And that which gained him the greateſt Credit and Reputation among the People, was their inviolable Opinion of his Uprightneſs, and Integrity in all his Under-

Undertakings. Whereas no Man ever imagined that *Pompey* even *Pompey* the Great Himſelf, if He had overcome *Cæſar*, would have ſubmitted his Power to the Laws, but would have retained the Sovereign Authority in his own Hands under the ſpecious Name of Conſul or Dictator, or ſome other mild and more popular Title, with which he would have ſoothed and cajoled the People. As for *Caſſius*, a Man inclined to Paſſion, and carried often by his covetous Humour beyond the Bounds of Juſtice, they well knew that He endured all theſe Hardſhips of War, and Travel, and Danger, rather to obtain Dominion to Himſelf, than Liberty to the People. And as for the former Diſturbers of the Peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is manifeſt that They having ſet their Country as a Stake for Him that ſhould win, did almoſt own in expreſs terms, that they fought for Empire. But even the Enemies of *Brutus* can't lay this Accuſation to his Charge: Nay, many have heard *Antony* Himſelf ſay, *That* Brutus *was the only Man who conſpired againſt* Cæſar, *out of a Senſe of the Glory and Juſtice of the Action; but that all the reſt roſe up againſt the* MAN, *and not the* TYRANT, *from their own private Malice and Envy.* And it is plain, that *Brutus* (by what he writes himſelf) did not ſo much rely upon his Forces, as upon his own Virtue: For thus he ſpeaks in his Epiſtle to *Atticus*, immediately before he was to engage with the Enemy. *That his Affairs were in the beſt ſtate of Fortune that he could wiſh; for that either he ſhould overcome, and reſtore Liberty to the People of* Rome, *or die, and be Himſelf free from Slavery. That all things elſe were in a fixed and ſetled Condition, and that only one thing ſtill remained doubtful and uncertain, which was whether they were to live or die Free Men.* He adds further, *That* Mark Antony *had received a juſt Puniſhment for his Folly,*

Folly, who when he might have been numbred with the Bruti, Caſſii, *and* Catos, *choſe rather to join himſelf with* Octavius, *and if they were not Both defeated in the enſuing Battel, they would very ſoon fall out between Themſelves.* And in This he ſeems to have been no ill Prophet. Now, when they were at *Smyrna*, *Brutus* deſired *Caſſius* that he might have part of the great Treaſure that He had heaped up, becauſe all his Own was expended in furniſhing out ſuch a Fleet of Ships as was ſufficient to keep the Sea in their Power. But the Friends of *Caſſius* diſſuaded him from This; for, ſaid they, *it is not juſt that the Money which You with ſo much Parſimony have ſaved, or got with ſo much Envy, ſhould be given to Him, to be diſpoſed of in making Himſelf popular, and gaining the Favour of the Soldiers.* Notwithſtanding which, *Caſſius* gave him a third part of all that he had; and then they parted each to their ſeveral Commands. *Caſſius* having taken *Rhodes*, behaved himſelf there with great Cruelty; though at his firſt Entry, when Some had called him their King and Maſter, he anſwered, *that he was neither King nor Maſter, but the Deſtroyer of Him who would have been their King and Maſter.* *Brutus*, on the other part, ſent to the *Lycians*, to demand from them a Supply of Money and Men; but *Naucrates*, a popular Man among them, perſuaded the City to rebel; ſo that ſome of the Country poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral little Mountains and Hills, with a Deſign to hinder *Brutus*'s Paſſage: *Brutus*, at firſt, ſent out a Party of Horſe, which ſurprizing them at Dinner, killed ſix hundred of them; and afterwards, having taken all their ſmall Towns and Villages round about, he ſet all his Priſoners free without Ranſom; hoping to win the whole Nation by his Clemency. But they continued obſtinate; filled with Anger for what they had ſuffered, and deſpiſing his Goodneſs and Humanity;

manity; 'till having forced the moſt Warlike of them into the City of *Xanthus*, he beſieged them there. Several endeavoured to make their Eſcape by Swimming and Diving under the River, but were taken by Nets for that purpoſe let down, which had little Bells at the top, to give preſent notice when Any were taken in them. The *Xanthians* after that made a Sally in the Night, and ſeizing ſeveral of the Battering Engines, ſet them on Fire; but being ſoon perceived by the *Romans*, were beaten back to their Wall; and there being a very violent Wind, it forced the Flames to the Battlements of the City with ſuch fierceneſs, that ſeveral of the adjoining Houſes took Fire. *Brutus*, fearing leſt the whole City ſhould be deſtroyed, commanded his own Soldiers to aſſiſt Thoſe of the City, and to quench it. But the *Lycians* were on a ſudden poſſeſſed with a ſtrange and incredible Deſpair; ſuch a Frenzy which cannot be better expreſt, than by calling it a violent Deſire to die; for both Women and Children, the Bond-men and the Free, Perſons of all Ages, and of all Conditions, ſtrove to force away the Soldiers, who came in to their Aſſiſtance, from the Walls; and Themſelves gathering together Reeds, and Wood, and other combuſtible Matter, ſpread the Fire over the whole City, feeding it with whatever Fuel they could get, and by all poſſible means exciting its Fury; ſo that the Flame having diſperſed it ſelf, and incircled the whole City, blazed out in ſo terrible a manner, that *Brutus* being extreamly afflicted at their Calamity, got himſelf on Horſe-back, and rid round the Walls, earneſtly deſirous to preſerve the City; and ſtretching forth his Hands to the *Xanthians*, begged of them, that they would ſpare Themſelves, and ſave their Town. Yet none regarded his Entreaties, but by all manner of ways haſtened their own Deſtruction;

ſtruction; not only Men and Women, but even Boys and little Children, with a hideous Out-cry, Some leaped into the Fire, Others threw themſelves from the Walls, Others fell upon their Parent's Swords, opening their Breaſts, and deſiring to be ſlain.

When almoſt the whole City was reduced to Aſhes there was found a Woman who had hanged her ſelf, with her young Child faſtened to her Neck, and the Torch in her Hand, with which ſhe had fired her own Houſe: It was ſo Tragical a ſight, that *Brutus* could not endure to ſee it; but wept at the very Relation of it; and proclaimed a Reward to any Soldier that could ſave a *Xanthian*. And it is ſaid, that an hundred and fifty only were preſerved, and even They againſt their Wills. Thus the *Xanthians*, after a long ſpace of Years, the fatal Period of their Deſtruction being, as it were, accompliſhed, by their deſperate Courage, revived the Memory of the Calamity of their Forefathers, who after the very ſame manner in the *Perſian* War had fired their City, and deſtroyed themſelves.

Brutus, after This, finding the *Patarians* reſolved to make reſiſtance, and hold out their City againſt him, was very unwilling to Beſiege it; and was in great perplexity leſt the ſame Frenzy might ſeize Them too. But having in his Power ſome of their Women Captives, he diſmiſſed them all without any Ranſom; and They returning, and giving an account to their Husbands and Fathers, who were of the greateſt Quality, what an excellent Man *Brutus* was; how Sober, how Temperate, and how Juſt, perſuaded them to yield themſelves, and put their City into his Hands. From this time, all the Cities round about came in to his Power, ſubmitting themſelves to him, and found him gracious and merciful, even beyond their hopes

and

and Expectations. For though *Caſſius* at the ſame time had compelled every *Rhodian* to bring in all the Silver and Gold he was Maſter of; by which means he raiſed a Sum of eight thouſand Talents, and beſides That, condemned the Publick to pay the Sum of five hundred Talents more; *Brutus* without taking above a hundred and fifty Talents from the *Lycians*, and without doing them any other Injury, parted from thence with his Army to *Ionia*. Through the whole Courſe of this Expedition, *Brutus* did many memorable Acts of Juſtice, in diſpenſing Rewards and Puniſhments to Such as had deſerved Either: One of which I will relate, becauſe He Himſelf, and every honeſt *Roman*, were in a particular manner pleaſed with it. When *Pompey* the Great, being overthrown by *Cæſar*, had fled to *Ægypt*, and landed near *Peluſium*, the Protectors of the young King conſulted among themſelves what was fit to be done on that Occaſion, nor could they all agree in the ſame Opinion; Some being for receiving him, Others for driving him from *Ægypt*: But *Theodotus*, a *Chian* by Birth, and a Mercenary Teacher of Rhetorick, then attending upon the King, and, for want of better Men, being admitted into the Council, undertook to convince them, that both Parties were in the wrong; as well They who counſelled to receive *Pompey*, as They who adviſed to ſend him away: That in their preſent Caſe, one thing only was neceſſary, to ſeize him, and to ſlay him; and ended his Speech with the Proverb, *That dead Men don't bite*. The Council agreed to his Opinion, and *Pompey* the Great (an Example of incredible and unforeſeen Events) was ſlain; and ſlain by the Rhetorick and Eloquence of *Theodotus*, as that Sophiſter Himſelf had the Impudence to boaſt. Not long after, when *Cæſar* came to *Ægypt*, ſome of the Murtherers received their juſt Reward, and were

put to Death as they deſerved. But *Theodotus*, though he had gained from Fortune a little time for a poor deſpicable and wandring Life, yet could not lye hid from *Brutus*, as he paſſed through *Aſia*; but being ſeized by him and executed, became more memorable by his Death than from any Tranſaction in the whoſe Courſe of his Life.

About this time *Brutus* ſent to *Caſſius*, to come to him at the City of *Sardis*; and when he was on his Journey, went forth with his Friends to meet him; and the whole Army being in Array, ſaluted each of them with the Name of Emperor. Now (as it uſually happens in Buſineſs of great Concern, and wherein many Friends, and many Commanders are engaged) ſeveral Jealouſies of each other, and private Accuſations having paſſed between *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, they reſolved before they entered upon any other Buſineſs, immediately to withdraw into ſome private Apartment; where the Door being ſhut, and They two alone, they began firſt to expoſtulate, then to diſpute hotly, and accuſe each other; after That from the Liberty of Speech and hard Words, that paſſed between them, they were tranſported into Paſſion, and at laſt burſt out into Tears. Their Friends, who ſtood without, were amazed, hearing them loud and angry, and feared leſt ſome Miſchief might follow, but yet durſt not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the Room. But *Marcus Favonius*, one who had been a Follower of *Cato*, and not ſo much for his Reaſon or Wiſdom, as for his wild and frantick Carriage, would paſs for a Philoſopher, was ruſhing in upon them, but was hindred by the Attendants; but it was a hard Matter to ſtop *Favonius*, where-ever his Wildneſs hurried him; for he was fierce and violent in all his Behaviour: And tho' he was a Senator, yet thinking That one of the leaſt of his Excellencies, he valued him

himſelf more upon a ſort of *Cynical* Liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed; which ſometimes was diverting enough to thoſe who could bear with his impertinent Scurrility. This *Favonius* breaking by Force through Thoſe who kept the Doors, entered into the Chamber, and with a mimical Voice pronounced this Verſe which *Homer* puts in the Mouth of *Neſtor*,

Be ruled, for I am elder than you both.

This made *Caſſius* laugh; but *Brutus* thruſt him out, calling him *a very Dog and counterfeit Cynick*; but yet for the preſent This put an End to their Diſpute, and they Both parted. *Caſſius* made a Supper that Night, and *Brutus* invited his Friends thither; when they were ſat down, *Favonius* having bathed came in among them; *Brutus* called out aloud, and told him, he was not invited, and bid him go ſit at the lower End of the Table: But He violently thruſt himſelf in, and ſate down in the Middle. The Entertainment was ſeaſoned with a Converſation neither void of Wit nor Learning. The following Day, upon the Accuſation of the *Sardinians*, *Brutus* publickly diſgraced and condemned *Lucius Pella*, One who had been *Cenſor* of *Rome*, and been employed in Offices of Truſt by Himſelf, for having embezzelled the Publick Money. This Action did not a little vex *Caſſius*; for, but a few Days before, Two of his own Friends being accuſed of the ſame Crime, He only in private admoniſhed them, but in publick abſolved, and continued them in their Office. Upon this Occaſion he accuſed *Brutus* of too much Rigour and Severity of Juſtice, in a time which required them to uſe more Gentleneſs and Favour. In Anſwer to This, "*Brutus* bid him remember the *Ides of* "*March*, (the Day when they killed *Cæſar*) who

" himſelf did neither vex nor grieve Mankind, but " was only the Support and Strength of ſuch as " did. He bid him conſider, that if there was " any Colour for Juſtice to be neglected, it had " been better to have ſuffered the Injuſtice of *Cæ-* " *ſar*'s Friends, than to give Impunity to their " Own; for then, ſaid he, we could have been " accuſed of Cowardiſe only; whereas now if we " connive at the Injuſtice of Others we make our " ſelves liable to the ſame Accuſation, and as we " ſhare with them in the Guilt, ſo likewiſe ſhall " we partake with them in the Pains, and the " Hazards that attend it." By which we may perceive what was *Brutus*'s Purpoſe, and the Rule of all his Actions.

About the time that they had deſigned to paſs out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, it was ſaid, that a wonderful Apparition was ſeen by *Brutus*. He was naturally given to much Watching, and being uſed to great Moderation in his Diet, and having perpetual Employment, (1) he allowed but a very ſmall Portion of time for Sleep: He never ſlept in the Day-time, and in the Night then only when all his Buſineſs was finiſhed, and when every one elſe being gone to Reſt, he had no Body left to diſcourſe with him. But at this time the War being begun, having the whole State of it to conſider, and being very careful and ſollicitous of the Event, after his firſt Sleep, which he took moderately juſt after Supper, he ſpent all the reſt of the Night in managing his moſt urgent Affairs; which if he had diſpatched in time, he employed himſelf in Reading, 'till the third Watch; at which time the Centurions and Tribunes were uſed to come to

(1) *Plutarch* by this Introduction diſpoſeth us to believe that the Phantom which *Brutus* thought he ſaw was owing to his want of Reſt. For a Head heated by long watching ſees what is unſeen by Others.

him

him for Orders. Thus one Night, before he paſſed out of *Aſia*, he was very late all alone in his Tent, with a dim Light burning by him, all the reſt of the Army being huſht and ſilent; and muſing with himſelf, and very thoughtful, as he turned his Eye to the Door, he ſaw a terrible and ſtrange Appearance of a prodigious and frightful Body coming towards him without ſpeaking. *Brutus* boldly asked it, *What art thou? Man or God? Or, upon what Buſineſs doſt thou come to us?* The Spirit anſwered, *I am thy Evil Genius*, Brutus: *Thou ſhalt ſee me at* Philippi. To which *Brutus*, not at all diſturbed, replied, *Then I will ſee thee.*

As ſoon as the Apparition vaniſhed, he called his Servants to him, who all told him, that they had neither heard any Voice, nor ſeen any Viſion: From that time he continued watching, 'till the Morning; and then went to *Caſſius*, and related to him the Apparition he had ſeen. He being bred up in the Principles of *Epicurus*'s Philoſophy, and being often uſed to diſpute with *Brutus* concerning Matters of this Nature, ſpoke to him thus upon this Occaſion; Brutus, *It is the Opinion of our Sect, that all that we feel or ſee, is not real and true; but that our Senſes being apt to receive all ſorts of Impreſſions are very treacherous; and the Imagination which is more quick and ſubtile, moves and varies them into all manner of Idea's, which have no real Exiſtence in Nature, as readily as we imprint any Form upon Wax; ſo that it is eaſie for the Soul of Man, which has in it ſelf both That which forms, and That which is formed, to vary it into what Shapes it pleaſes. This is evident from the ſudden Changes of our Dreams, in which the Imagination upon very ſlight Principles, repreſents to us all ſorts of Paſſions of the Soul, and Appearances of Things; for it is the Nature of the Mind to be in perpetual Motion, and that Motion is our Imagination and Thought: But beſides all This,*

in your caſe, the Body being tired and worn out with continual Labours and Cares, naturally works upon the Mind, and keeps it in Suſpence and Trouble. But that there ſhould be any ſuch thing as Dæmons or Spirits, or if there were, that they ſhould have human Shape, or Voice, or Power, that can reach to Us, (1) *is altogether improbable; though I confeſs* (2) *I could wiſh that there were ſuch Beings, that we might not rely upon our Arms only, and our Horſes, and our Navy, all which are ſo great and powerful, but might be confident of the Aſſiſtance of the Gods alſo, in this our moſt Sacred and Honourable Attempt.*

With ſuch Diſcourſes as Theſe, *Caſſius* in ſome manner ſettled and compoſed the Mind of *Brutus*.

As ſoon as the Army began to march from whence they were encamped, two Eagles flew to them, and lighted on the two firſt Enſigns, and continually followed the Soldiers, and were fed by them 'till they came to *Philippi*, and there, but one Day before the Fight, they Both flew away. *Brutus* had already reduced moſt of the Places and People of theſe Parts, but he marched on as far as to the Coaſts of *Thaſſos*, that if there were any

(1) This Diſcourſe of *Caſſius* is made up of ſome Truth, and ſome Falſhood. It is true that our Imagination when it is heated may miſlead and impoſe upon us falſe Objects, which we ſee with the ſame Certainty as if they were real; but *Caſſius* carries this Principle too far, when he ſaith it is altogether improbable that there ſhould be Spirits. For it is moſt certain that there are ſuch Beings, who can appear to us, ſpeak to us, and foretel future Events. But ſuch Apparitions of Spirits are like Dreams, Some of which are falſe, Some True. Some are the Children of our Imagination, and Others ſent by God.

(2) This is an effectual way to cure *Brutus* of his Terrors. He firſt inſinuates that the Notion of Spirits is falſe and groundleſs, and then makes it appear that it was to be wiſhed there were ſuch, for in that Caſe they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate but happy Events, and inſtead of being averſe would be favourable and beneficent to them. So that upon this way of reaſoning, be there Spirits, or be there not, *Brutus* his Phantom was falſe, no better than an Illuſion of the imaginative Faculty of the Mind.

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City, or Man of Power, that yet ſtood out, he might force them all to Subjection. In theſe Parts *Norbanus* was encamped, in a Place called *The Streights*, near *Symbolon*: Him they ſurrounded in ſuch Sort, as they forced him to diſlodge and quit the Place; and *Norbanus* narrowly eſcaped loſing his whole Army; *Cæſar*, by reaſon of his Sickneſs being left behind: For he had certainly been loſt, had not *Antony* arrived to his Relief with ſuch wonderful Swiftneſs, that *Brutus* could not believe he was come. *Cæſar* came up to the Army ten Days after. *Brutus* was encamped over-againſt him, and *Caſſius* over-againſt *Antony*. The Space between the two Armies is called by the *Romans* the Plains of *Philippi*. Never did two ſo great *Roman* Armies appear together ready to engage each other. The Army of *Brutus* was ſomewhat leſs in Number than That of *Cæſar*: But in the Splendidneſs of their Arms, and Richneſs of their Equipage, it did wonderfully exceed it; for moſt of their Arms were of Gold and Silver, which *Brutus* had laviſhly beſtowed among them: For though in other Things *Brutus* had accuſtomed his Commanders to uſe all Frugality and Moderation, (1) yet he thought that

(1) This was likewiſe the Sentiment of *Cæſar*, *Habebatque tam cultos (Milites) ut argento, & auro politis armis ornaret; ſimul & ad ſpeciem, & quo tenaciores eorum eſſent in prælio metu damni.* Sueton. Jul. Cæſ. 67. This was likewiſe the Sentiment of *Sertorius*, of whom *Plutarch* ſaith *that he beſtowed Silver and Gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their Helmets.* But *Mithridates* was of another Opinion, of whom *Plutarch* ſaith in the Life of *Lucullus*, *that he laid aſide all the Armour burniſhed with Gold, and enriched with precious Stones, which he looked upon rather as the Wealth of the Conqueror than a Defence and Security to the Bearers.* So were likewiſe the *Romans*, whoſe Officers, *Livy* ſaith, told Him *Horridum Militem eſſe debere, non calatum auro argentoque, ſed ferro, & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam verius quam Arma eſſe. Nitentia ante Rem, deformia inter Sanguinem, & Vulnera. Virtutem eſſe Militis decus, & omnia illa Victoriam ſequi, & ditem hoſtem quamvis pauperis victoris*

that the Riches which Soldiers carried about them in their Hands, and on their Bodies, would ſtir up the Ambition of Thoſe who were deſirous of Glory; and make Them who were covetous, and Lovers of Gain, fight the more valiantly to preſerve their Arms, which were their Eſtate.

Cæſar made a View and Luſtration of his Army within his Trenches, and diſtributed only a little Corn, and but five Drachmas to each Soldier for the Sacrifice. But *Brutus*, either pitying this Poverty, or diſdaining this Meanneſs of Spirit in *Cæſar*, firſt, as the Cuſtom was, made a general Muſter and Luſtration of his Army in the open Field, and then diſtributed a great number of Beaſts for Sacrifice to every Band, and fifty Drachmas to every Soldier: So that in the Love of his Soldiers, and their readineſs to fight for him, *Brutus* had much the Advantage of *Cæſar*. At the time of Luſtration, it is reported, that an unlucky Omen happened to *Caſſius*; for one of his Officers preſenting him with a Garland that he was to wear at the Sacrifice, gave it him with the Inſide outward: Farther, it is ſaid, That ſome time be-

ctoris præmium eſſe. If ſuch rich Armour ſometimes makes covetous Perſons more hardy in Action, as *Brutus* imagined, it may likewiſe diſpoſe them to fly upon the firſt Shock on purpoſe to ſave it, and at the ſame time incite the Enemy to fight with more Courage and Reſolution in hopes of gaining it. This puts me in mind of a great Commander, who ſaid *Miles non timet niſi veſtitus.* I muſt leave it to the Generals of the preſent Age to determine the Point. For my Part if I were to ſpeak my Opinion I ſhould think it proper to have the Troops well cloathed and well armed, and leave the Gold and Finery to the Women or the Troops of *Barbarians.* This was the Sentiment of *Homer*, who in the ſecond Book of his Iliad makes an Officer belonging to the *Trojan* Allies go to fight bedaubed with Gold like a young Maiden.

Ὅς ῥ᾽ ἐπὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμον δ᾽ ἴεν ἠΰτε Κόρη.

And this Gold proved of no other uſe to him than to make him the Prey of *Ajax*, who killed him.

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fore, at a certain ſolemn Proceſſion, (1) the Golden Image of Victory, which was carried before *Caſſius*, fell down by a ſlip of Him that bore it. Beſides This, there appeared many Birds of Prey daily about the Camp, (2) and ſeveral Swarms of Bees were ſeen in a Place within the Trenches, which Place the Soothſayers ordered to be ſhut out from the Camp, to remove the Superſtition which inſenſibly began to prevail even with *Caſſius* Himſelf, in ſpite of his *Epicurean* Philoſophy, but had wholly infected and ſubdued the Soldiers: From whence it was that *Caſſius* was very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a preſent Battel, but adviſed rather to draw out the War 'till farther time; conſidering that they were ſtronger in Money and Proviſions, but in the Number of Men inferior. But *Brutus*, on the contrary, was ſtill, as formerly, deſirous to come with all ſpeed to the Deciſion of a Battel; that ſo he might either reſtore his Country to her Liberty, or elſe deliver from their Miſery all thoſe Men who were haraſs'd with the Expences, Troubles and Dangers of the War. And finding alſo his Light-Horſe, in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, ſtill to have had the better, he was the more encouraged and reſolved: And ſome of the Soldiers having deſerted, and gone to the Enemy, and others beginning to accuſe and ſuſpect one another, many of *Caſſius*'s Friends in the Council changed their Opinions to That of *Brutus*. But there was one of *Brutus*'s Party, named *Atellius*, who oppoſed his Reſolution, adviſing rather that

(1) *Dion* who makes mention of all theſe Prodigies in his xlvii. Book ſaith only, *that a Soldier happened to ſlip, and fall down as he was carrying a Victory.* He doth not ſay that this Image of Victory was of Gold, nor that it was born before *Caſſius*. *Plutarch* ſeems to have been better inſtructed in theſe Particulars than *Dion*.

(2) We have already ſeen in the Life of *Dion* that Bees were looked upon as an unlucky Omen, for which ſome Reaſon is given in that Place. Pag. 32. of this Volume.

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they ſhould tarry 'till the next Winter. And when *Brutus* asked him, *In how much better a Condition he hoped to be a Year after?* His Anſwer was, *If I gain nothing elſe, yet I ſhall live ſo much the longer.*

Caſſius was much diſpleaſed at this Anſwer; as were all the Officers preſent, and they all reſolved to give Battel the next Day. *Brutus* that Night at Supper ſhewed himſelf very chearful and full of Hope; and entertained his Gueſts with Reaſonings and Diſcourſes of Philoſophy, and afterwards went to his Reſt. But *Meſſala* ſays, that *Caſſius* ſupped privately with a few of his neareſt Acquaintance; and that he appeared thoughtful and ſilent, contrary to his uſual Temper and Cuſtom. After Supper he took him by the Hand, and preſſing it cloſe as his Cuſtom was, in Token of Good-will, he ſaid to him in *Greek*, *Bear witneſs for me*, Meſſala, *that I am brought into the ſame Neceſſity, as* Pompey *the Great was before me, of hazarding the Liberty of my Country upon one Battel: Yet ought we to be of Courage, relying on our good Fortune, which it were unjuſt to miſtruſt, though we have taken evil Counſels.* Theſe, *Meſſala* ſays, were the laſt Words that *Caſſius* ſpake before he bad him farewel; (1) and that He invited *Caſſius* to ſup with Him the next Night, being his Birth-day.

The next Morning as ſoon as it was light, the Signal of Battel, being a Scarlet Coat of Arms, was expoſed in the Camps of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and They Themſelves met in the middle ſpace between their two Armies: There *Caſſius* ſpoke thus

(1) This Paſſage is ſomething obſcure in the Original; for it leaves it a Doubt whether it was the Birth-day of *Caſſius*, or *Meſſala*. I have made Choice of the latter Conſtruction. *Caſſius*, penſive and gloomy as he was, muſt be but little diſpoſed to make an Invitation for the next Night. It muſt be *Meſſala* who did it, on the Account of his Birth-day, as the Cuſtom then was among Friends on the like Occaſion.

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to *Brutus*, *The Gods grant*, O Brutus, *that we may now overcome, and paſs the reſt of our Days in Repoſe and Proſperity. But ſince the greateſt of human Concerns are the moſt uncertain, and ſince it will be very difficult for us ever to ſee one another again, if the Battel ſhould go againſt us, tell me, what is your Reſolution concerning Flight and Death?* *Brutus* anſwered, *When I was young*, Caſſius, *and unskilful in Affairs*, (1) *I was engaged, I know not how, into an Opinion of Philoſophy, which made me accuſe* Cato *for killing himſelf, as being an irreligious Act in itſelf, and unworthy a Man to quit the Poſt in which Providence hath placed him, and fly with Ignominy upon the firſt Provocation.* (2) *But the Situation I am in at preſent has made me alter my Opinion; ſo that if Providence ſhall not diſpoſe what we now undertake according to our Wiſhes, I reſolve to try no farther Hopes, nor make any more Preparations for War, but will die contented with my Fortune.* (3) *For I gave up my Life to the Service of my Country* on the Ides of *March*; *in Recompence for which I have ever ſince lived with Liberty and Honour.*

Caſſius at theſe Words ſmiled, and embracing *Brutus*, ſaid, *With theſe Reſolutions let us go on upon the Enemy; for either We our ſelves ſhall conquer, or have no cauſe to fear Thoſe who do.* After This they diſcourſed among their Friends about the Or-

(1) That was the only true, and ſound Doctrine which had been taught *Brutus* in the School of the Academy, and He followed it becauſe it was agreeable to the Light of Reaſon, and the Precepts of Truth itſelf. We ſhall ſee by what follows the fine Reaſons he gives for this Change in Opinion.

(2) But why muſt this Change in Affairs make him alter his Opinion? Does Truth depend upon the Mutability of Fortune? Will That which is true to-day become falſe to-morrow, becauſe an Alteration has happened in my Circumſtances, and Fortune frowns upon me? This is weak reaſoning indeed.

(3) Becauſe by expoſing his Life in that manner he delivered himſelf from the Yoke of Him whom he called Tyrant.

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dering of the Battel: And *Brutus* deſired of *Caſſius*, that He might command the Right Wing, though it was thought a Poſt more fit for *Caſſius*, in regard both of his Age, and his Experience: Yet even in This *Caſſius* complied with *Brutus*, and placed *Meſſala* with the moſt valiant of all his Legions, in the ſame Wing. *Brutus* immediately drew out his Horſe, excellently well equipped, and took the ſame Care of bringing up his Foot after them. Now *Antony*'s Soldiers were caſting a Trench from the Marſh by which they were encamped, to cut off *Caſſius*'s his Paſſage to the Sea. *Cæſar* was at a diſtance in his Tent, not being able to be preſent Himſelf, by reaſon of his Sickneſs. And his Soldiers not expecting the Enemy would come to a ſet Battel, but only make ſome Excurſions with their Darts and light Arms to diſturb Thoſe who were working in the Trenches, and not taking enough notice of Them, who were coming directly upon them, were amazed when they heard the confuſed Out-cry that came from the Trenches. In the mean while *Brutus* ſent to all the Commanders Tickets, in which was the Word of Battel; and Himſelf riding through the Ranks, exhorted his Soldiers to do their Duty. There were but few of them who had Patience to ſtay for the Word, the greateſt Part running, before it could be given, with loud Shouts upon the Enemy. This Diſorder cauſed a great Confuſion in the Army, and the Legions were ſcattered and diſperſed one from another: That of *Meſſala* firſt, and afterwards the next went beyond the left Wing of *Cæſar*; and without doing much more than putting ſome of the fartheſt Ranks in diſorder, and killing a few of their Men, fell directly into *Cæſar*'s Camp. *Octavius* Himſelf (as his own *Commentaries* ſhew) had but juſt before been conveyed away, upon the Perſuaſion of *Artorius*, one of his Friends, who

who had dreamt that he ſaw a Viſion, which commanded *Cæſar* to be carried out of the Camp. This made it believed for ſome time that he was ſlain; for the Soldiers had pierced his Litter, which was left empty, in many places with their Darts and Pikes. There was a great Slaughter in the Camp, and two Thouſand *Lacedæmonians* who were newly come to the Aſſiſtance of *Cæſar*, were cut off. The reſt of the Army that had not gone round by the left Wing of *Cæſar*, but had engaged his Front, eaſily overthrew them, being in great Conſternation for the Loſs of their Camp, and ſlew upon the place three Legions; and being carried on with the ſtream of Victory, purſuing Thoſe, who fled, fell into the Camp with the Runaways, *Brutus* himſelf being among them. But the Conquered took the Advantage of what was unperceived by the Conquerors. They obſerved the left Wing of the Enemy, where *Caſſius* commanded, to be naked, and ſeparated from the Right, which had engaged too far in the Purſuit; wherefore they fell with great Fury upon the Flank, which was left open, and unguarded; ſo that tho' notwithſtanding all their Efforts, they could make no Impreſſion upon the main Body, which received them with great Courage and Reſolution, they ſoon routed that Wing, as well by reaſon of the Diſorder into which it fell, as from their Ignorance of what had paſſed in the Right under the Command of *Brutus*. The Enemy purſued them ſo cloſe that they entered with them into their Camps, which they pillaged and deſtroyed, though neither of their Generals were preſent. For *Antony*, as they ſay, to avoid the Fury of the firſt Onſet, had retired into the Marſh that was hard by; and *Cæſar*, who by reaſon of his Sickneſs had been conveyed out of the Camp, was no where to be found. This induced ſome of the Soldiers to preſent themſelves

ſelves to *Brutus*, and tell him that They had killed *Cæſar*, in Confirmation of which they ſhewed him their Swords all bloody, and deſcribed to him his Age, and Perſon.

The main Body of the Army where *Brutus* commanded had routed all Thoſe who oppoſed them, ſo that he was evidently Conqueror on his ſide at the ſame time that *Caſſius* was vanquiſhed on the Other. And this one Miſtake was the Ruin of their Affairs, That *Brutus* did not come to the Relief of *Caſſius*, thinking that He, as well as Himſelf, was Conqueror; and that *Caſſius* did not expect the Relief of *Brutus*, thinking that He too was overcome. For a Proof that the Victory was on *Brutus*'s ſide, *Meſſala* urges his taking of three Eagles, and many Enſigns of the Enemy, without loſing Any of his own. *Brutus* now returning from the Purſuit, after having deſtroyed *Cæſar*'s Camp, wondered that he could not ſee the Tent of *Caſſius*, ſtanding high, as it was wont, and appearing above the reſt, nor any of the Others round about it. For they were moſt of them overturned, and pillaged by the Enemy upon their firſt falling into the Camp. But Some who had a more quick and diſcerning Sight than the reſt, acquainted *Brutus* that they ſaw a great deal of ſhining Armour, and Silver Targets moving to and fro about *Caſſius*'s Tents; they thought, that by their Number and their Armour, they could not be Thoſe they had left to guard the Camp; but yet, that there did not appear ſo great a number of dead Bodies thereabouts, as is probable would have been after the Defeat of ſo many Legions. This firſt made *Brutus* ſuſpect *Caſſius*'s Misfortune; and leaving a ſufficient Guard in the Enemies Camp, he called back Thoſe who were in the Purſuit, rallied them together, and lead them to the Relief of *Caſſius*, who was now in this condition: Firſt, he

he was angry at the firſt Onſet that *Brutus* his Soldiers made without the Word of Battel, or Command to charge. Then, after they had overcome, he was as much diſpleaſed to ſee them all ruſh on to the Plunder and Spoil, and neglect to ſurround and encompaſs the reſt of the Enemy. Beſides This, by his own Delay and Slowneſs, more than by the Briskneſs and Conduct of the Captains of the other ſide, he found himſelf hemmed in by the Right Wing of the Enemy, and all his Horſe making with all haſte their Eſcape, and flying towards the Sea; the Foot alſo began to fly, which he perceiving, laboured as much as ever he could to hinder their Flight, and bring them back; and ſnatching an Enſign out of the Hand of one that fled, he ſtuck it at his Feet, though he could hardly keep even his own Prætorian Band together: So that at laſt he was forced to fly with a few about him to a little Hill that over-looked all the Plain. But He Himſelf being weak-ſighted, diſcovered nothing, only the Deſtruction of his Camp, and even That with much Difficulty; but They who were with him ſaw a great Body of Horſe, ſent by *Brutus*, moving towards him. *Caſſius* believed Theſe to be a Party of the Enemy, ſent in Purſuit of him. However he ordered out *Titinius*, one of Thoſe who attended him, to go, and get more certain Intelligence. As ſoon as *Brutus*'s Horſe ſaw him coming, and knew him to be a Friend, and a faithful Servant of *Caſſius*, Thoſe of them who were his more familiar Acquaintance ſhouting out for Joy, and alighting from their Horſes, ſaluted and embraced him; and the reſt rode round about him in great Triumph and Noiſe, through their Exceſs of Gladneſs at ſight of him. But This proved fatal to *Caſſius*, who could not comprehend what it all meant, but concluded that they were the Enemy who had thus

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ſurrounded *Titinius*, and made him their Priſoner. Hereupon he cried out, *Through too much Fondneſs of Life, I have lived to ſee my Friend taken by the Enemy before my Face.* When he had ſaid This he retired into a private Tent, taking with him only *Pindarus*, one of his Freed-men, whom he had reſerved for ſuch an Occaſion ever ſince the unhappy Battel againſt the *Parthians*, where *Craſſus* was ſlain. He eſcaped That Misfortune; but now wrapping his looſe Garment about his Head, he made his Neck bare, and held it forth to *Pindarus*, commanding him to ſtrike; and his Head was found lying ſevered from his Body; but no Man ever ſaw *Pindarus* after this Murther, from which ſome ſuſpected, that he had killed his Maſter without his Command. Soon after, they perceived who the Horſe-men were, and ſaw *Titinius* crowned with Garlands, making what haſte he could towards *Caſſius*. But as ſoon as he underſtood, by the Cries and Lamentations of his afflicted Friends, the unfortunate Error and Death of his General, he drew his Sword, and having very much accuſed and upbraided his own long Stay, that had cauſed it, he ſlew himſelf. *Brutus*, as ſoon as he was aſſured of the Defeat of *Caſſius*, made haſte to him; but heard nothing of his Death, 'till he came near his Camp: Then having lamented over his Body, calling him, *The laſt of all the* Romans, ſaying, *That it was impoſſible that the City ſhould ever produce another Man of ſo great a Spirit*; he ſent away the Body to be buried at *Thaſſus*, leſt celebrating his Funeral within the Camp, it might poſſibly breed ſome Diſorder. He then gathered his Soldiers together, and comforted them, and ſeeing them deſtitute of all things neceſſary, he promiſed to every Man two thouſand Drachmas, in recompence of what they had loſt.

They

They at theſe Words took Courage, and were aſtoniſhed at the Magnificence of the Gift, and waited upon him at his parting, with Shouts and Praiſes, magnifying Him for the only General of all the Four, who was not overcome in the Battel. And indeed he proved by his Actions that it was not without Reaſon he believed he ſhould Conquer; for with a few Legions he overthrew all that reſiſted him; and if all his Soldiers had fought, and moſt of them had not paſſed beyond the Enemy in Purſuit of the Plunder, it is very likely that he had utterly defeated them All. There fell of his ſide eight thouſand Men, reckoning the Servants of the Army, (1) whom *Brutus* called *Briges*: And on the other ſide, *Meſſala* ſays, his Opinion is, that there were ſlain above twice that number; for which reaſon they were more out of Heart than *Brutus*, 'till a Servant of *Caſſius*, named *Demetrius*, came in the Evening to *Antony*, and brought to him the Garment which he had taken from his Maſter's dead Body, and his Sword: At the ſight of which they were ſo encouraged, that as ſoon as it was Morning they drew out their whole Force into the Field, and ſtood in Battel-Array againſt *Brutus*. But *Brutus* found both his Camps wavering and in Diſorder; his Own being filled with Priſoners, required a Guard more ſtrict than ordinary over them; and That of *Caſſius* was much diſcontented at the Change of their General; beſides They who had been beaten were ſeized with a ſecret Envy, and Indignation againſt Thoſe who had conquered; wherefore he thought it convenient to put his Army in Array, but to abſtain as much as he could from fighting.

(1) *Brutus* called them *Bryges* inſtead of *Phryges*, *Phrygians*, becauſe thoſe barbarous Nations uſually ſupplied that Sort of Servants, who, like our black Guards, followed the Armies. Βριγες, ſaith *Heſychius*, οἱ μὲν Φρύγες, οἱ δὲ Βάρβαροι.

All the Slaves that were taken Priſoners, of which there was a great number who by their Behaviour towards the Soldiers gave him reaſon to ſuſpect they were tampering with them, he commanded to be ſlain; but of the Free-men and Citizens, Some he diſmiſſed, ſaying, *That they had before been taken by the Enemy, that with Them they were Captives and Slaves indeed, but with Him Free-men and Citizens of* Rome. Others he was forced to hide, and help them to eſcape privately, perceiving that ſome of his Friends and Commanders were implacably bent upon Revenge againſt them. Among the Captives there was one *Volumnius*, a Mimick, and *Sacculio*, a Buffoon; of theſe *Brutus* took no manner of notice, but his Friends brought them before him, and accuſed them, that even then in that Condition they did not refrain from their abuſive Jeſts and ſcurrilous Language. *Brutus* having his Mind taken up with other Affairs, ſaid nothing to their Accuſation; but the Judgment of *Meſſala Corvinus* was, That they ſhould be whipped publickly upon a Scaffold, and ſo ſent naked to the Captains of the Enemy, to ſhew them what ſort of Fellow-Drinkers and Companions were fit for ſuch Warriors. At This Some who were preſent laughed; but *Publius Caſca*, He who gave the firſt Wound to *Cæſar*, ſaid, *That it was not decent to jeſt and make ſo merry at the Funeral of* Caſſius. *But you*, O Brutus, ſays he, *will ſhew what Eſteem you have for the memory of that General, in puniſhing or preſerving Thoſe who cannot forbear ſcoffing, and ſpeaking abuſively of him.* To This *Brutus*, with great Indignation, replied, *Why then*, Caſca, *do you tell Me of This, and not do your ſelf what you think fitting?* This Anſwer of *Brutus* was taken for his Conſent to the Death of theſe wretched Men; ſo they were carried away and ſlain.

After

After This he gave the Soldiers the Reward he had promiſed them; and having ſlightly reproved them, for falling upon the Enemy in diſorder, without waiting either the Word of Battel or Command: He promiſed them, that if they behaved themſelves bravely in the next Engagement, he would give them up two Cities to ſpoil and plunder, *Theſſalonica* and *Lacedæmon*. This is the only inexcuſable Fault in the Life of *Brutus*. For if in the End *Antony* and *Cæſar* were much more cruel in the Rewards They gave their Soldiers after Victory; if They drove out almoſt all the old Inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their Soldiers in poſſeſſion of other Mens Lands and Cities; it is well known that Their only Deſign and End in undertaking the War, was to obtain Dominion and Empire. Whereas the great Opinion the World had conceived of *Brutus* on Account of his Virtue would not allow Him either to overcome, or ſave himſelf, but by means truly juſt and honourable; eſpecially after the Death of *Caſſius*, who was generally accuſed of putting *Brutus* upon ſeveral violent and cruel Actions. But now, as in a Ship, when the Rudder is broken by a Storm, the Mariners fit and nail on ſome other piece of Wood inſtead of it; ſtriving againſt the Danger not ſo well as before, but as well as in that Neceſſity they can; So *Brutus* being at the Head of ſo great an Army, and engaged in ſuch weighty Affairs, and having no Commander equal to *Caſſius*, was forced to make uſe of Such as he had, and to do and to ſay many things according to their Advice; which he chiefly followed in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Caſſius*'s Soldiers into better Order. For they were grown very head-ſtrong and intractible, bold and inſolent in the Camp for want of their General, but in the Field cowardly and fearful, remembring that they had been beaten.

Neither were the Affairs of *Cæſar* and *Antony* in any better Poſture; for they were ſtreightened for want of Proviſions, and the Camp being in a low Ground, they expected to endure a very hard and ſickly Winter. For being encompaſſed with Marſhes, and a great quantity of Rain, as is uſual in Autumn, having fallen after the Battel, their Tents were all filled with Mire and Water, which through the Coldneſs of the Weather froze immediately.

While they were in this condition, there was News brought to them of their Loſs at Sea. For *Brutus*'s Fleet fell upon their Ships, which were bringing a great Supply of Soldiers out of *Italy*; and ſo entirely defeated them, that even very few eſcaped, and They were forced by Famine to feed upon the Sails and Tackle of the Ships. As ſoon as they heard This, they made what haſte they could to come to the Deciſion of a Battel, before *Brutus* ſhould have notice of his good Succeſs. For it happened, that the Fight both by Sea and Land was on the ſame Day, but by ſome Misfortune, rather than the Fault of his Commanders, *Brutus* knew not of his Victory 'till twenty Days after. For had he been informed of it, he would never have come to a ſecond Battel, ſince he had ſufficient Proviſions for his Army for a long time, and was very advantageouſly poſted, his Camp being ſafe from the Injuries of the Weather, and almoſt inacceſſible to the Enemy: And his being abſolute Maſter of the Sea, and having at Land overcome on that ſide wherein He Himſelf was engaged, would have mightily encouraged him. (1) But (it

(1) For the Empire was no longer able to ſupport itſelf. It was neceſſary for it to come under the Dominion of a ſingle Perſon. So long as there were ſo many Competitors on Foot, ſo many Pretenders either to the Empire, or the Royalty, that Competition

(it ſeems) the State of *Rome* not enduring any longer to be governed by Many, but neceſſarily requiring a Monarchy, Providence, that it might remove out of the way the only Man who was able to reſiſt Him who was deſtined to it, prevented *Brutus* from receiving Intelligence of that important Victory, 'till it was too late. For the very Evening before the Fight, *Claudius*, a Deſerter from the Enemy, came to tell him, that *Cæſar* had received Advice of the loſs of his Fleet, and for that reaſon was in ſuch haſte to come to a Battel. This Relation met with no Credit, neither would *Brutus* ſo much as admit him to his Preſence, but utterly deſpiſed him, as one who had received no good Information, or had invented Lies on purpoſe to pleaſe Him, and bring himſelf into Favour.

The ſame Night, they ſay, the Viſion appeared again to *Brutus*, in the ſame Shape that he did before, but vaniſhed away without ſpeaking. But *Publius Volumnius* (a Man given to the Study of Philoſophy, and one who had from the beginning born Arms with *Brutus*) makes no mention of this Apparition, but ſays, that the firſt Standard was covered with a Swarm of Bees; and that there was one of the Captains, whoſe Arm of it ſelf ſweated Oil of Roſes; and though they often dried and wiped it, yet it would not ceaſe. And

tition would be an inexhauſtible Source of civil War and Diſſention, and nothing was more incompatible with Monarchy than *Brutus*. *Brutus* therefore was of neceſſity to be removed. All This ſtrongly proves the Truth of *Plato*'s Sentiment, who maintains that of all Governments Monarchy is the moſt perfect; but then the Monarch muſt govern according to Law, He muſt conſider himſelf as God's Vicegerent, the Servant and Miniſter of Him alone, from whom he received the Law, and the Scepter; the Moment he withdraws himſelf from that Authority he degenerates into a Tyrant, and governs his People not with a Scepter, but a Rod of Iron, which was not put into his Hands by the Almighty.

that immediately before the Battel, two Eagles falling upon each other, fought in the ſpace between the two Armies; that the whole Field kept incredible Silence, and all were intent upon the Spectacle, 'till at laſt That which was on the ſide of *Brutus* yielded and fled. But the Story of the *Ethiopian* is very famous, who meeting the Standard-bearer at the opening the Gate of the Camp, was cut to pieces by the Soldiers, who interpreted that Circumſtance as an unlucky Omen. *Brutus* having brought his Army into the Field, and ſet them in Array againſt the Enemy, pauſed a long while before he gave the Word. For as he was viſiting the Ranks he grew ſuſpicious of Some, and met with Accuſations againſt Others. Beſides he perceived the Horſe were not diſpoſed to begin the Fight with any Vigour or Reſolution, but ſtill expecting what the Foot would do; then ſuddenly, *Camulatus*, a very good Soldier, and one whom for his Valour he highly eſteemed, riding cloſe by *Brutus* Himſelf, went over to the Enemy, the ſight of which grieved him exceedingly. So that partly out of Anger, and partly out of fear of ſome greater Treaſon and Deſertion, he immediately drew on his Forces upon the Enemy, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. *Brutus* on his ſide had the better, violently charging the Enemy's left Wing, which gave way and retreated, and the Horſe too fell in together with the Foot, when they ſaw them amazed and in Diſorder. But the other Wing, when the Captains ordered them to march on to the Fight, fearing to be encompaſſed, being fewer in number than their Adverſaries, ſpread themſelves, and widened the middle of their Battel, by which being weakened, they could not withſtand the Charge, but at the firſt Onſet fled. After their Defeat, the Enemy immediately ſurrounded *Brutus*, who performed all that was poſ-

ſible

ſible for an expert General and valiant Soldier; ſhewing in the greateſt danger a Courage and Conduct that deſerved to overcome. But That which gained him the Victory in the firſt Engagement made him loſe it in the Second. For in the firſt Fight, that Part which was beaten was cut in pieces upon the Spot; but in This, where *Brutus* broke through every thing that oppoſed him, of all the Troops in *Caſſius*'s Army, which were overthrown in the left Wing, very few were ſlain, and They who eſcaped being ſtill terrified with their firſt Defeat infected the reſt of the Army where-ever they came with Deſpair and Confuſion. Here *Marcus* the Son of *Cato* was ſlain fighting, and behaving himſelf with great Bravery in the midſt of the Youth of the greateſt Quality and Valour. He would neither fly nor give Ground, but ſtill fighting and declaring who he was, and naming his Father's Name, he fell upon a heap of dead Bodies of the Enemy. Many Others of the braveſt Men in the Army who ran in to ſave *Brutus* were likewiſe ſlain at the ſame time, as they endeavoured to defend and preſerve Him. Among the reſt was one *Lucilius*, an Excellent Man, and a Friend of *Brutus*, who ſeeing ſome of the *Barbarian* Horſe taking no notice of any other in the Purſuit, but directly making towards *Brutus*, reſolved to ſtop them, though with the hazard of his own Life; and being left a little behind, told them, that He was *Brutus:* They believed him the rather, becauſe he prayed to be carried to *Antony*, pretending that he feared *Cæſar*, but durſt truſt Him. They overjoyed with their Prey, and thinking themſelves wonderfully fortunate, carried him along with them in the Night, having firſt ſent Some of their own Body with an Account of this good News to *Antony*. They had no ſooner imparted it to him, but tranſported with Joy he went out to

meet them. And all the reſt, when they heard that *Brutus* was taken and brought alive, flocked together to ſee him; Some pitying his Fortune, Others accuſing him of a Meanneſs unbecoming his former Glory, that out of too much love of Life, would ſuffer himſelf to be a Prey to *Barbarians*.

As they approached towards him *Antony* halted a little, and conſidered with himſelf in what manner he ſhould receive *Brutus*. By this time *Lucilius* was brought up to him, and with a generous Confidence ſaid, *Be aſſured*, Antony, *that no Enemy either has, or ever ſhall take* Marcus Brutus *alive, (forbid it, ye Gods, that Fortune ſhould ever ſo much prevail above Virtue!) But let him be found, alive or dead, he will certainly be found in ſuch a State as is worthy of him. As for Me, I am come hither by a Cheat which I put upon your Soldiers, and am ready, upon this occaſion, to ſuffer whatever Torments you will inflict, without demanding or expecting any Quarter.* *Lucilius* having thus delivered himſelf, whilſt all that heard him were amazed at him, *Antony*, turning himſelf to Thoſe who brought him, ſaid, *I perceive, my Fellow-ſoldiers, that you are concerned, and full of Reſentment, for having been thus impoſed upon by* Lucilius. *But be aſſured that you have met with a Booty better than that you ſought: For you were in ſearch of an Enemy, but you have brought me here a Friend. For indeed I am uncertain how I ſhould have uſed* Brutus, *if you had brought Him alive; but of This I am ſure, that it is better to have ſuch Men as* Lucilius *our Friends, than our Enemies.* Having ſaid This, he embraced *Lucilius*, and for the preſent commended him to the Care of one of his Friends, and ever after found him firm and ſteady to his Intereſt.

Brutus having paſſed a little Brook, encompaſſed with Rocks, and ſhaded with Trees, and being overtaken by the Night, made a Stop in a hollow place

place at the Foot of a great Rock, with a few of his Captains and Friends about him. There caſting his Eyes up to Heaven, which was at that time full of Stars, he repeated two Verſes, one of which, *Volumnius* writes, was the following (out of the *Medea* of *Euripides*.)

Puniſh, great Jove, *the Author of theſe Ills.*

The Other, he ſays, he has forgot. Soon after, naming ſeverally all his Friends that had been ſlain before his Face in the Battel, he fetched a deep Sigh, eſpecially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labio*, whereof One was his Lieutenant, and the Other Maſter of his Workmen. In the mean time, one of his Companions who was very thirſty, and ſaw *Brutus* in the ſame Condition, took his Helmet, and ran to the Brook for Water, when a Noiſe being heard from the other ſide of the River, *Volumnius* taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus*'s Armour-bearer with him, went out to ſee what it was. They returned in a ſhort ſpace, and asked what was become of the Water? *Brutus* very calmly ſmiling, ſaid to *Volumnius*, *It is all drunk, but you ſhall have ſome more fetched immediately.* But He who had brought the firſt Water being ſent again had like to have been taken by the Enemy, from whom he eſcaped with much Difficulty, not without being wounded dangerouſly.

Brutus conjecturing that he had not loſt many of his Men in the Fight, *Statilius* undertook to paſs through the Enemy (for there was no other way) and to ſee what was become of their Camp; and promiſed, that if he found all things there ſafe, to hold up a Torch for a Signal, and then return. *Statilius* got ſafe to the Camp and held up the Torch, but not returning ſo ſoon as he was expected, *Brutus* ſaid, *If* Statilius *be alive, he will come back.*

back. But it happened, that in his Return he fell into the Enemies Hands, and was ſlain. The Night now being far ſpent, *Brutus*, as he was ſitting, leaned his Head towards his Servant *Clitus*, and whiſpered ſomething to him in his Ear. *Clitus* returned him no Anſwer but fell a weeping. After That, he drew aſide his Armour-bearer, *Dardanus*, and had ſome Diſcourſe with Him in private: At laſt, ſpeaking to *Volumnius* in *Greek*, he conjured him by their common Studies and former Converſation, to take hold of his Sword and thruſt it thorough him: *Volumnius* refuſed it, as did ſeveral Others; and one of them ſaying, that there was no ſtaying there, but they needs muſt fly: *Brutus*, riſing up, ſaid, *Yes indeed, we muſt fly, but not with our Feet, but with our Hands.* Then taking each of them by the Hand, with a chearful Countenance he ſaid, *That he found an infinite Satisfaction in This, That none of his Friends had been falſe to him. That as for Fortune, he was angry with That, only for his Country's ſake. As for Himſelf, he thought he was much more happy than They who had overcome; not only in regard of what was paſt, but even in his preſent Condition; ſince he was now leaving behind him ſuch a Reputation of his Virtue, as none of the Conquerors, with all their Arms and Riches, ſhould ever be able to acquire; no more than they could hinder Poſterity from believing and ſaying, that being unjuſt and wicked Men, they had deſtroyed the Juſt and the Good, and uſurped an Empire to which they had no Right.* After This, having exhorted and beſeeched All about him to provide for their own Safety, he withdrew from them with two or three only of his peculiar Friends; *Strato* was One of Theſe, with whom he had contracted an Acquaintance when they both ſtudied Rhetorick together. Him he placed next to himſelf, and taking hold of the Hilt of his Sword, and directing it with both his Hands, he

he fell upon it, and killed himſelf. Some ſay, That not He himſelf, but *Strato*, at the earneſt entreaty of *Brutus*, turning aſide his Head, held the Sword, upon which *Brutus* flung himſelf with ſo much violence that it pierced his Breaſt and he expired immediately.

Some time after This, *Meſſala* One of *Brutus*'s Friends and Companions having made his Peace with *Cæſar*, One day when he found him moſt at leiſure preſented this *Strato* to him, and with Tears in his Eyes, ſaid, *This*, O Cæſar, *is the Man that did the laſt friendly Office to my beloved* Brutus. Upon which *Cæſar* received him kindly, and had good Uſe of his Service among the reſt of the Valiant *Greeks*, who ſerved him in the Battel of *Actium*. It is reported of *Meſſala* Himſelf, that when *Cæſar* once gave him this Commendation, That tho' he was his fierceſt Enemy at *Philippi*, in the Cauſe of *Brutus*, yet he had ſhewed himſelf his moſt entire Friend in the Fight of *Actium*; He anſwered, (1) *You ſhall always find me*, Cæſar, *on the beſt and juſteſt Side*. When *Antony* had found the Body of *Brutus*, he commanded the richeſt Coat that he had to be thrown over it; and afterwards the Coat being ſtolen, he found the Thief, and had him put to Death; and then ſent the Aſhes and Relicks of *Brutus* to his Mother *Servilia*. As for *Porcia*, his Wife, (2) *Nicolaus* the Philoſopher, and *Valerius Maximus* write, That being deſirous to die, but hindered by her Friends, who continually

(1) This is a bold Anſwer; by which *Meſſala* gave *Auguſtus* to underſtand that he thought *Brutus*'s Party the more juſt and honourable, and that conſequently he would never have quitted it whilſt *Brutus* was alive. But at the ſame time he told him that *Brutus* being dead he thought *Cæſar*'s Cauſe better, and more honourable than That of *Antony*, that for that very reaſon he had embraced it, and had ſerved him faithfully.

(2) This was *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* a Peripatetick Philoſopher, and an intimate Friend of *Auguſtus*. He wrote an univerſal Hiſtory in a hundred and forty Books, or Chapters.

watched

watched her, ſhe ſnatched ſome burning Coals out of the Fire, and ſhutting them cloſe in her Mouth, ſtifled her ſelf, and died. Though there is yet extant a Letter of *Brutus* to his Friends, in which he laments the Death of *Porcia*, and accuſes them for neglecting her ſo, that ſhe deſired to die, rather than languiſh under her Diſeaſe. So that it ſeems *Nicolaus* was miſtaken in the Time. (1) For this Epiſtle (if it indeed is Authentick) gives us to underſtand the Diſeaſe, as well as the conſtant Affection of this Lady, and the Manner of her Death.

The Compariſon of Dion *with* Brutus.

SEeing then that theſe Men grew ſo very famous, eſpecially in that with inconſiderable Helps they attained to ſuch Power and Greatneſs; on this Score *Dion* has by far the Advantage: For he had no Partner, none to ſhare the Glory, as *Brutus* had in *Caſſius*; who was not indeed of that Reputation for Virtue and Honour, yet was he not inferior to him in Diligence, Courage, and Experience in the Toils of War.

Some there are who impute to Him the Riſe and Beginning of the whole Action, ſaying, that if it had not been for Him *Brutus* would never have undertaken any thing againſt *Cæſar*.

(1) It appears by this Epiſtle that *Porcia* was dead before her Husband, and that conſequently the Hiſtory of the live Coals is no better than a Fable. But on the other Hand if this Epiſtle was genuine how could *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* write that *Porcia* died after *Brutus*, and That in ſo extraordinary a manner, when there was a Letter from *Brutus* to his Friends complaining of her Death, in being to contradict him? It follows of courſe that either the Letter was forged, or that *Nicolaus* had never ſeen it. The firſt ſeems to be moſt probable.

Whereas

Whereas *Dion* ſeems not only of Himſelf to have provided Arms, Ships, and Soldiers, but likewiſe Friends and Partners for the Enterprize.

(1) Neither did He, as *Brutus*, gather to himſelf from the War any Strength or Riches; but laid out of his own Subſtance, and employed his private Subſiſtance during his Exile for the Liberty of his Country.

(2) Beſides all This, *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, when They fled from *Rome*, knowing they could live no where in Repoſe and Safety, but that they were condemned and purſued, were forced to have Recourſe to War as to a Refuge and Sanctuary, and to take up Arms, and hazard their Lives in their own Defence, and to ſave Themſelves rather than their Country.

On the contrary, *Dion* enjoyed more Eaſe, was more ſafe, and his Life more pleaſant in his Baniſhment, than was the Tyrant's who had baniſhed him; notwithſtanding which he flies to Action, and runs the Risk of all to ſave *Sicily*.

(3) Beſides, it was not the ſame thing to deliver the *Romans* from *Cæſar*, and free the *Syracuſians* from

(1) In this Particular *Dion* has a conſiderable Advantage over *Brutus*. For He who aggrandizeth and enricheth himſelf by the War may be thought to have engaged in it for the ſake of That alone. Whereas He who ſpends his own Eſtate in the Support and Maintenance of it will be allowed to have in View ſomething more great and noble, and to be influenced by a higher Principle.

(2) This Advantage in favour of *Dion* is of more Weight than the former, for it proceedeth from the higheſt Degree of Magnanimity. *Brutus* under Sentence of Death is forced to betake himſelf to the War, as to his laſt and only Refuge; whereas *Dion* took up Arms againſt *Dionyſius* from a true Spirit of Magnanimity, and purely for the ſake of his Country. Now whatever we do for the ſake of Others is certainly more great and noble than what we do for our Own.

(3) We are to judge of the Actions of Men by the Effects they produce, and the Springs which firſt ſet them in Motion. In this View *Dion* has conſiderably the Advantage of *Brutus*. For what were the Ends of Both their

from *Dionyſius*. For He owned himſelf a Tyrant, and vexed *Sicily* with a thouſand Oppreſſions. Whereas *Cæſar*, whilſt he was forming and eſtabliſhing his Government did indeed at firſt cruelly injure and oppreſs all Thoſe who oppoſed him, but ſo ſoon as he had made himſelf Maſter, and had got every thing in his Power, it appeared that the Government he aimed at was in Name only, and not in Fact a Sovereignty, upon which not one Act of Tyranny or Cruelty could be charged; but on the contrary he made it evident that the neceſſity of Affairs requiring a Monarch, Providence had put the Empire into his Hands as into the Hands of a Phyſician, who alone was capable of healing, and reſtoring it. (1) Accordingly the Moment *Cæſar* was murdered the common People miſſed him, and grew inraged and implacable againſt thoſe that killed him.

On the contrary, *Dion* was hotly proſecuted by the Commons, for having let *Dionyſius* eſcape; and for not having digged up the former Tyrant's Grave.

(2) In all Actions of War, *Dion* was a Com-

their Actions? *Brutus* was for delivering *Rome* from a King, and *Dion*'s Aim was to redeem *Sicily* from a Tyrant. Now theſe two Benefits are very unequal, or rather *Brutus* had done a great Injury to the *Romans*, if he had hindered the young *Cæſar* from reigning. Whereas *Dion* brought an unſpeakable Bleſſing upon *Sicily* in delivering Her from *Dionyſius*. So that in this reſpect *Brutus* comes far ſhort of *Dion*.

(1) This is a ſure Token that the *Romans* were accuſtomed to the Government of a ſingle Perſon, whereas the Reproach the *Sicilians* flung upon *Dion* was a certain ſign of their Deteſtation of the Tyrant.

(2) As to Perſonal Valour *Brutus* did not in any Degree come ſhort of *Dion*, but he was far behind him in point of Prudence, and Contrivance, which make a compleat General. *Brutus* is very juſtly taxed here with two Errors. The Firſt was in coming to a Second Engagement where he ſtaked all at once, at a time when his Enemies would have been defeated to his Hands from the ill Situation they were in, and their Want of Proviſions; the Other was, that after he had loſt the Battel he knew not how to repair that Loſs, tho' he had ſtill an Army under his Command, and was Maſter at Sea.

mander

mander without Fault, improving to the utmoſt thoſe Counſels which Himſelf gave, and, where Others failed, correcting and turning every thing to the beſt. Whereas *Brutus* ſhewed a Weakneſs of Conduct in coming to a ſecond Engagement when all was at Stake, and when he had loſt it he knew not how to play an After-Game, but grew helpleſs and diſpirited, and had not, like *Pompey*, the Courage to make head againſt Fortune, tho' he had ſtill Ground enough to relie on his Troops, and his Fleet made him abſolute Maſter at Sea.

(1) The greateſt and indeed the juſteſt Reproach that can be faſtened upon *Brutus* is, that tho' he owed his Own Life to *Cæſar*'s Bounty, and had obtained from him the Liberty of all his Fellow-Priſoners, and their Pardon too; that tho' he was treated by him with the Intimacy and Tenderneſs of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip, being at all times in a particular manner honoured and diſtinguiſhed by him, yet notwithſtanding all This with his own Hands he aſſaſſinated him. Nothing like This could be objected againſt *Dion*; but the quite contrary. Whilſt he was of *Dionyſius*'s Family, and his Friend, he did him good Service, and was uſeful to him; but when he was driven from his Country, wronged in his Wife, and had been deprived of his Eſtate, he openly entered upon a War, in it ſelf both juſt and honourable.

(2) But even this very Point, if we turn the Tables,

(1) This Reproach is well founded: for what could be more horrid and abominable in *Brutus*, than thus to aſſaſſinate his Benefactor, the Perſon to whom he owed his Liberty, his Life, all his Honours and Preferments? Here he is far inferior to *Dion*, who never declared War againſt *Dionyſius* 'till he had been provoked to it by all ſorts of Injuries, and moſt outragious Treatment. But this very Reproach will turn to the Advantage of *Brutus*, if *Plutarch*'s Word may be taken.

(2) From this very Reproach which is flung upon *Brutus*, *Plutarch* draws ſome plauſible Reaſons to give Him the Advantage over *Dion*. In Truth nothing can be

Tables, will prove to the Advantage of *Brutus*. For the chief Glory of Both consists in their Hatred of Tyranny, (1) and Abhorrence of their Wickedness: This was clear and sincere in *Brutus*, (2) for he had no private Quarrel with *Cæsar*, but put all to the Risk (3) for the Libery of his Country. (4) The Other, had he not been piqued, had not fought. This is plain from *Plato*'s Epistles, where it is shewed, that he was turned out, and did not forsake the Court, but was banished from it before he would wage War upon *Dionysius*. Moreover, the Consideration of the Publick Good reconciled *Brutus*, and of an Enemy made him a Friend to *Pompey*, and the same Consideration of a Friend made him *Cæsar*'s Enemy; so that He proposed for his Hatred and his Friendship no other

be more heroick than for a Man to sacrifice his highest Obligations to the Good of the Publick, and expose his Person for the Benefit of his Country. Whereas there is nothing extraordinary in Him, who is influenced only by his own Resentment to revenge himself for personal Injuries, and Affronts. Besides, *Brutus* and *Cassius* considered the Murder of *Cæsar* as most just, and holy. Now there can be nothing more great and worthy than to break through all Obligations, and stifle the tenderest Sentiments for the sake of such an Action. But they ought first to have proved that the Murder of *Cæsar* was such an Action; which they can never do, it being repugnant to all the Principles of sound Morality. The Reasons produced here by *Plutarch* in Defence of *Brutus* may do well enough in the Schools and Exercises of Rhetoricians, but they are far from being fundamental Truths, and such Rules by which we are to square our Actions. Impartial Judges will always prefer *Dion*'s Undertaking to That of *Brutus*.

(1) These are big Words, but wherein did this Wickedness appear in *Cæsar*?

(2) So far indeed was he from having any private Quarrel to *Cæsar*, that he was under the strongest Obligations to him; by which his Guilt was highly aggravated.

(3) He put All to the Risk to satisfy his own melancholy Temper, and did more Mischief to the Empire in two Years than *Cæsar* could have done in a hundred.

(4) How doth This appear? It is certain that *Dion* did all he could to reclaim *Dionysius* by the Principles of Reason, but it is not so certain that when at last *Dionysius* had filled up the Measure of his Iniquities, *Dion* would not have declared himself, and armed against him.

End

End and Standard, but Juſtice. (1) *Dion* was very ſerviceable to *Dionyſius*, whilſt in Favour; but the moment he was in diſgrace he grew angry, and took up Arms againſt him. Hereupon his Friends were not all of them ſatisfied with his Undertaking, leſt having overcome *Dionyſius*, he might not ſeize the Government into his own Hands, and cheat the People by ſome milder and more popular Name than That of Tyranny. But as for *Brutus*, his very Enemies confeſſed that of all Thoſe who conſpired againſt *Cæſar*, He was the only Perſon, who had no other View than to reſtore to the *Romans* their antient Form of Government.

Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, the Adventure againſt *Dionyſius* was nothing equal to That againſt *Cæſar*: For of all Thoſe, who were familiarly converſant with *Dionyſius*, there was not a Man but deſpiſed him in his Heart for ſpending all his Time in Debauchery, Wantonneſs, and Gaming. (2) Whereas it was an Argument of an uncommon Courage and Bravery to entertain ſo much as a Thought againſt *Cæſar*, and not to ſtand in Awe of his conſummate Experience, profound Senſe, and unparalleled Proſperity; a Man, the bare Mention of whoſe Name alone put the *Parthian* and

(1) *Dion* did many things in favour of *Dionyſius*, but he was never guilty of any unjuſt Action in his Behalf, and he hoped that his Confidence in him would one day awaken in him a ſenſe of Moderation and Juſtice, quell that *Charybdis* that Monſter of Tyranny, and teach him to be a merciful and gracious Prince. But after his Baniſhment, and when he had received at his Hands all the injurious Treatment imaginable, then ſeeing there was no hopes of reclaiming him he did not aſſaſſinate him, but generouſly took up Arms againſt him. So that in this whole Procedure of *Dion* we do not find the leaſt Deviation from Juſtice.

(2) This is not to be denied. But doth *Plutarch* reckon for nothing that bold Reſolution of *Dion*, who with no more than eight hundred Men on board two Tranſports undertook openly the formidable Power of a Tyrant, who had under his Command four hundred Gallies, a hundred thouſand Foot, ten thouſand Horſe, Fortreſſes, Allies, and Riches without Number?

Indian Kings in a Fright, and kept them waking. Accordingly *Dion* was no ſooner ſeen in *Sicily*, but thouſands ran in to him, and joined him againſt *Dionyſius*; whereas the Renown of *Cæſar*, even when dead, gave Heart to his Friends: And his very Name ſo heightened the Perſon that took it, that from a ſimple Boy he in an inſtant became the Chief of the *Romans*. And he uſed it for a Spell againſt the Malice and Popularity of *Antony*.

(1) But if it ſhall be objected, That it coſt *Dion* great Trouble and Difficulties to overcome the Tyrant; whereas *Brutus* ſlew *Cæſar* naked and unprovided: (2) This ſhews a Work of vaſt Policy and Conduct to bring it about, that a Man ſo guarded round, and ſo fortified at all Points, ſhould be taken naked and unprovided. For it was not on the ſudden, nor alone, nor with a Few that he fell upon and killed *Cæſar*; but after long concerting the Plot, and Confidence in a great many Men, not One of Whom deceived him: For he either diſcerned the beſt of Men, at the firſt View, or by confiding in them, made them good. Whereas *Dion* confided in Men of ill Principles, which was owing either to his injudicious Choice, or for that

(1) Indeed it is, and ever will be objected. For ſure there is a great deal of difference between diſpoſſeſſing a Tyrant by Force of Arms, and overpowering him by Numbers, and aſſaſſinating him naked, and unguarded.

(2) I think This is not anſwering the Objection. I will venture to ſay that I am of the contrary Opinion. It is indeed a Work of Capacity, Prudence, and Intrepidity, but it is not the Prudence and Capacity of the moſt renowned Generals. We have met with Actions of the ſame Stamp performed by Perſons, who were not reputed the moſt experienced Commanders. Nay more, we can produce an Action of greater Hazard and Hardineſs perpetrated by the vileſt Monſter that Hell ever produced. This Murder of *Cæſar* ought not to be imputed to the Courage, but the gloomy cholerick Temper, which was predominant in *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. We hear of two Men, who were capable of aſſaſſinating *Cæſar*, but we meet with None, who had Courage enough to kill *Marius*, or *Sylla*, two horrible Monſters, who made *Rome* groan under the moſt cruel of Tyrannies.

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they grew worſe upon his Hands, for his want of knowing how to make a right uſe of them when he had engaged them; neither of which is the property of a wiſe Man. Accordingly *Plato* ſeverely reproves him in his Letters for making Choice of ſuch for his Friends, as in the end aſſaſſinated him.

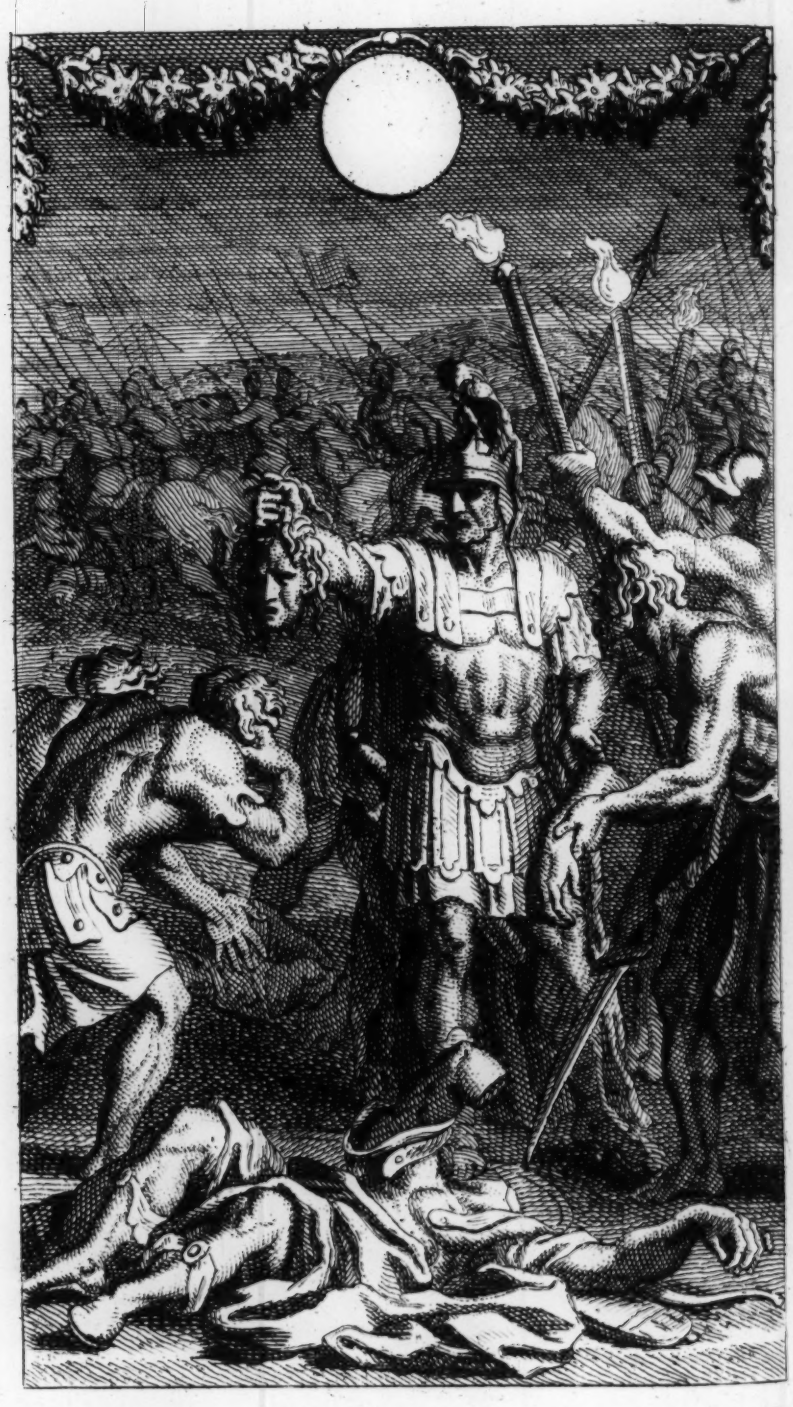
(1) We may add to This that when *Dion* was killed no one appeared to revenge his Death, whereas *Brutus* received even from his Enemies the friendly Office of Burial, and *Cæſar* took care that all the Honours that had been paid him in his Life-time ſhould be preſerved inviolable to him; among Others, a Statue erected at *Milan* a Town in *Gallia Ciſalpina*. Some time after This *Cæſar* paſſing through that Place, and obſerving the Statue, which was of excellent Workmanſhip, and ſtrongly reſembled the Original, made a Halt, and in the Preſence of Many who accompanied him, and were within Hearing, called the Magiſtrates before him, and told them *that their Town had broken the League, and harboured one of his Enemies*. At firſt the Magiſtrates, as it may eaſily be imagined, denied the Fact, and not knowing what he drove at ſtared upon one another as Men under an inexpreſſible Surprize. When He, pointing to the Statue, asked them with a Frown, *is not That my Enemy whom you have received into the very Heart of your City?* At theſe Words the Magi-

(1) And did not the *Sicilians* then revenge his Death, when they refuſed to receive *Calippus* his Murderer, but baniſhed him as a Villain too wicked to enjoy the Privilege of Sanctuary? Did not *Leptines* and *Polyperchon* revenge his Death, when they aſſaſſinated that Monſter? Did not *Timoleon* revenge it, when he put to Death the perfidious *Icetes!* In a Word, did not the Gods Themſelves revenge it, when they almoſt that very inſtant cauſed all the *Zacynthians* who had been iding to *Calippus* to Periſh? Theſe are Honours more ſubſtantial than Thoſe of Burial which *Antony* paid to *Brutus*, or Thoſe preſerved to him by *Cæſar*.

ſtrates being ſtill more aſtoniſhed were ſtruck Dumb, without a Word to ſay for themſelves. Upon This *Cæſar* ſmiled, and commended the *Gauls* for their Conſtancy to their Friends;tho' in Adverſity ; and ſo commanded that the Statue ſhould remain ſtanding, as he found it.

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L'Chevon Inv. Vol. 8: p: 149. Gl. Vischer Sculp.

THE LIFE OF *ARTAXERXES.*

THE firſt of the *Perſian* Kings, who bore the Name of *Artaxerxes* was diſtinguiſhed above other Princes for his Goodneſs and Magnanimity, and was ſurnamed (1) *Longimanus*, becauſe his Right Hand was longer than his Left. He was the Son of *Xerxes*, The Second, whoſe Story I am now writing, being

We are now come to the End of all the Parallel Lives that remain written by *Plutarch*. The Four which follow, and conclude this great Work, are of another kind, bearing no Reſemblance, or Compariſon One with the Other. *Plutarch* wrote many Others in the ſame Manner, *viz.* The Lives of *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and *Vitellius*, with Thoſe of *Hercules*, *Heſiod*, *Pindar*, *Crato*, *Diaphantus* and *Ariſtomenes*.

(1) It has been a Cuſtom in all Ages to give Princes Surnames alluding not only to ſuch Diſpoſition of the Mind as was predominant in them, but even to their perſonal Deformities, or Perfections, of which we have frequent Examples. This *Artaxerxes* was ſurnamed *Longimanus* becauſe he had one Hand longer than the other, or becauſe, as *Strabo* will have it, lib. xv. his Arms were ſo long that when he ſtood upright and extended them downwards they reached to his Knees.

for his vaſt Memory ſtiled *Mnemon*, was his Grandſon by his Daughter *Paryſatis*: Who brought *Darius* four Sons, the Eldeſt *Artaxerxes*, the next *Cyrus*, and two younger than Theſe, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* received his Name from the ancient *Cyrus*, as they ſay He had His from the Sun, (1) which in the *Perſian* Language is called *Cyrus*. *Artaxerxes* was at firſt called *Arſicas*, though *Dinon* ſays his firſt Name was *Oartes*. But it is highly improbable that (2) *Cteſias* (though otherwiſe he has caſt into his Book an univerſal Rapſody of incredible and ſenſeleſs Fables) ſhould be ignorant of the Name of the King, (3) He who was Phyſician in ordinary to Him, his Wife, his Mother, and Children. *Cyrus* even from his Infancy ſeemed to be of a Nature violent and impetuous, *Artaxerxes* on the contrary appeared moderate, and gentle in all his Actions and Behaviour. He married a Fair and Virtuous Lady with the Conſent of his Parents, but in the long run kept her as expreſly againſt it. For King *Darius* having put her Brother to Death, was projecting how to deſtroy Her likewiſe. But *Arſicas* throwing himſelf at his Mother's Feet, and having moved her with whole Streams of Tears, at laſt with much ado perſuaded her that they ſhould neither put her to Death, nor divorce her from him. However *Cyrus* was the Queen's

(1) The *Perſians* called the Sun *Cyrus*, and the *Egyptians Orus*, that is Lord and Maſter. I am of Opinion that upon this *Perſian* Word *Cyrus* the *Grecians* formed their Κύριος, which carries with it the ſame Signification. Certain it is that many foreign Words are to be found in the *Greek* Language.

(2) This *Cteſias* was born at *Cnidos*, and wrote a Hiſtory of the *Perſian* and *Aſſyrian* Affairs, Ἀσσυριακὰ καὶ Περσικὰ. *Plutarch* gives here a Character of the Man.

(3) Thus we ſee *Cteſias* was Phyſician in ordinary to the King, his Mother, his Royal Conſort, and to his Children. In thoſe times One Phyſician was thought ſufficient for a whole Royal Family, and I think with very good Reaſon.

Darling,

Darling, and the Son whom ſhe moſt deſired to ſettle in the Throne. Wherefore *Darius* being taken dangerouſly ill ſhe recalled her Son from his Government in *Lydia*, and he returned to Court, full of Hopes, that by her Means he ſhould be declared his Father's Succeſſor in the Empire. For *Paryſatis* urged this ſpecious Plea in his behalf, which *Xerxes* by the Advice of *Demaratus* had of old made uſe of, *viz.* that ſhe had brought him *Arſicas* when he was a Subject, but *Cyrus* when a King. Notwithſtanding all which ſhe could not prevail with *Darius*, ſo the eldeſt Son was declared King under the Name of *Artaxerxes*, and *Cyrus* was confirmed in his Government of *Lydia*, and the maritime Provinces.

Soon after the Death of *Darius*, the new King ſet out from his Capitol for the City of (1) *Paſargates*, in order to be crowned there according to Cuſtom, by the Prieſts of *Perſia*. In that City is a Temple of a Goddeſs, who preſides in War, and who is conjectured to be the ſame with *Minerva*. The Perſon who is to be crowned enters into this Temple, where he diveſts himſelf of his own Robe, and puts on That which was worn by *Cyrus* the Firſt before he attained the Monarchy. Then he eats a Bunch of Figs, chaws ſome Turpentine, and drinks a Draught compoſed of Milk and Vinegar. To which if they add any other Rites, they are unknown to all but Thoſe who are preſent at them. Juſt as *Artaxerxes* was diſpoſing himſelf for the Performance of this Ceremony *Tiſaphernes* arrived, and brought with him a Prieſt, who had

(1) This City was built by *Cyrus* the Great, who granted it many Priviledges, becauſe in that Place he defeated *Aſtyages*, and acquired the Crown as the Fruits of his Victory. *Ptolemy* calleth it it *Paſacarta*. It has not quite loſt its old Name in That by which it is diſtinguiſhed by the Moderns, for according to Father *Lubin* it is at preſent called *Darabegard*, or by the *Arabs Valaſegerd*.

been Preceptor to *Cyrus* in his Infancy, had taught him the Doctrine of the *Magi*, and was more concerned than any when his Pupil was excluded from the Throne. For this Reaſon his Veracity was the leſs queſtioned when he accuſed *Cyrus* of having laid a Deſign to ſeize his Brother in the Temple, to fall upon him as he was pulling off his Robe, and aſſaſſinate him. Some affirm that he was apprehended upon this Accuſation, Others that he had entered the Temple and was pointed out there, as he lay lurking, by the Prieſt. But as he was going to Execution his Mother claſped him in her Arms, and having bound him with the Treſſes of her Hair, ſhe joined his Neck cloſe to her Own, and by her bitter Lamentations, Tears, and Entreaties obtained his Pardon, and got him remanded back to his Government, where he ſat very uneaſy, and forgetting his Brother's Mercy towards him thought only of the Affront put upon him when he was taken Priſoner, inſomuch that his Anger and Reſentment made him more deſirous of the Kingdom than before. Some ſay he revolted from his Royal Brother, becauſe he had not a Revenue proportionable to the daily Expence he was at in the Support of his Family, proclaiming him in That no leſs Fool than Rebel. For had he had nothing elſe, yet he had a Mother ready with an open Hand to ſupply him with whatever he could deſire, whether for his Uſe or Grandeur. Beſides, what greater Evidence can there be of his immenſe Wealth than the Numbers of foreign Troops which he maintained in ſeveral Parts by the Means of his Friends and Confidents, both Foreign and Domeſtick, as we are informed by *Xenophon*. For the better to conceal his mighty Preparations, and keep his Levies ſecret, he did not hold his Forces in one Body, but had his Emiſſaries abroad, who under ſeveral Pretenſions liſted foreign Soldiers into

to his Service; and *Paryſatis*, who reſided conſtantly at Court with the King her Son, removed all Jealouſies, whilſt *Cyrus* on his Part wrote in moſt ſubmiſſive Terms to *Artaxerxes*, ſometimes ſoliciting him for ſome Acts of Favour and Bounty, and at Others (1) drawing up a Counter-Charge againſt *Tiſaphernes*, as if all his Deſigns were againſt Him, and He was the only Object of his Envy, and Emulation. Moreover there was a certain natural Dilatorineſs in the King, which was miſtaken by Many for Clemency. And indeed in the beginning of his Reign he ſeemed to imitate the Gentleneſs of the firſt *Artaxerxes*, being more acceſſible in his Perſon, and exceſſive in the Diſtribution both of Honours and Rewards to the Deſerving. He was obliging even in his Puniſhments, taking out the Sting and Contumely of them, and in the Intercourſe of Gifts he delighted no otherwiſe in Thoſe who offered them to, than in Thoſe who received them from him, appearing ſtill when he gave chearful and generous. Nor truly was there any thing, however inconſiderably given him, which he did not deign kindly to accept of; inſomuch that when one *Omiſes* had preſented him with a very large Pomegranate, *By this Light*, ſaid he, *this Man, were he entruſted with it, would ſoon turn a ſmall City into a great one.* Afterwards Some offering him one thing, Some another, as he was in his Progreſs, a certain poor Labourer having got nothing in readineſs to preſent to him ran ſtraight to the River ſide, and taking up Water in his Hands he preſented him with That by way of Offering. *Artaxerxes* was ſo well pleaſed with the Thing, that he ſent him a large Goblet of

(1) He had taken from him the principal Towns in his Government in *Ionia*, all except *Miletus*, which he was then beſieging. This gave him a Handle to impoſe upon *Artaxerxes*, who believed the Levies *Cyrus* was making were deſigned againſt *Tiſaphernes*.

Maſſie

Maſſie Gold, and a thouſand *Darii*, in Return. When *Euclidas* the *Lacedæmonian* had ſpoken many things againſt him with great Inſolence and Scurrility, he only told him by the Captain of his Guards, *Thou haſt Liberty to ſpeak againſt the King what thou wilt, but the King has it in his Power not only to Speak, but Do what He pleaſeth.*

One day as he was a hunting *Tiribazus* ſhewed him a large Rent in his Robe, and when the King asked him what he would adviſe him to do on that Occaſion, he anſwered, *It may pleaſe your Majeſty to put on Another, and give me That*; *It ſhall be ſo*, ſaid the King, *I give it Thee, but at the ſame time charge thee never to wear it. Tiribazus* did not give much heed to this Injunction, not that he was an ill man, but ſomething empty, and half-witted. He was ſo indiſcreet as to put it on immediately, and as if That was not ſufficient he adorned it with fine Trimmings, and Jewels of Gold, ſuch as the Queens of *Perſia* only had a Right to wear. All the Court were provoked at this Inſult, for it was expreſly contrary to Law; but the King only laughed at him, and told him, *Thou haſt my leave to wear thoſe Golden Toys as a Woman, and the Robe of State as a Fool.*

And whereas none uſually ſate down to eat with the King beſide his Mother and Wife, the former being placed above, the other below him; *Artaxerxes* invited alſo to his Table his two younger Brothers, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. But the Chariot of his Wife *Statira* preſented the *Perſians* with the moſt taking Sight, being always drawn with its Curtains open; allowing the Ladies of the Country both to ſalute and approach her. Which thing endeared his Government to the People. Yet ſome over-buſie, factious Men, who delighted in Innovations, gave it out, as their Opinion, that *Cyrus*, being a Man of a great Spirit, an excellent Warrior,

rior, and a generous Maſter, was in thoſe Circumſtances more deſirable, and that the largeneſs of their Empire abſolutely required a daring and ambitious Prince. Wherefore *Cyrus* relying upon the Diſpoſition the Court was in towards him, as much as upon the good Will and Affection of Thoſe in the maritime Provinces where he commanded, reſolved upon the War. In the firſt place He wrote to the *Lacedæmonians*, exciting Them to his Aſſiſtance, and to ſupply him with ſome ſtout Men, aſſuring them that to the Foot-men that ſhould appear he would give Horſes, and to the Horſe-men Chariots; that upon Thoſe who had Farms he would beſtow Lordſhips, that Thoſe who were Lords of Villages ſhould receive Cities. To all This he added that the Pay aſſigned to the Soldiers ſhould not be ſtinted by Account, but ſhould be diſtributed by Heaps and Meaſure. At the ſame time ſpeaking very extravagantly of Himſelf he ſaid he was informed with a greater Soul, that he was more a Philoſopher, and a better Magician, and that he could both drink and bear more Wine than his Brother *Artaxerxes*. He ſaid farther that his Brother was naturally ſo fearful, and had been bred up with ſo much Effeminacy, that he could not ſit his Horſe when a hunting, nor in his Chariot when in Action, without tottering. The *Lacedæmonians*, upon reading his Letters, ſent a Scytale to *Clearchus*, commanding him to obey *Cyrus* in all things. So *Cyrus* marched towards the King, having under his Conduct a numerous Hoſt of *Barbarians*, and but little leſs than thirteen thouſand Stipendiary *Græcians*; aſſigning firſt one Cauſe, then another for his Expedition. Yet the true reaſon lay not long concealed, for *Tiſaphernes* went to the King in Perſon to declare it. Thereupon the Court was all in an Uproar and Tumult, the Queen Mother bearing almoſt the whole blame of the Enter-

Enterprize, and her Retainers being not only ſuſpected but accuſed. But ſhe who gave her the moſt diſturbance was *Statira*, who paſſionately reſented this War, and cried out; *What is now become of your Promiſes? What of your Interceſſions? By which having freed Him who was guilty of Treaſon againſt his Brother, you have embroiled us in War and unſpeakable Calamities?* For theſe Words *Paryſatis* hated *Statira*, and being naturally Implacable and Savage in her Anger and Revenge, ſhe conſulted how ſhe might deſtroy her. *Dion* the Hiſtorian tells us that her wicked Purpoſe had its effect during the War; but *Cteſias* affirms that it was ſome time after; and it is not likely that He ſhould be ignorant of the time when ſuch a helliſh Deſign was accompliſhed, He who was an Eye-witneſs of every thing that paſſed at that Court, and had no reaſon to prevaricate, or relate the Fact otherwiſe than as it happened; for which Reaſon I ſhall refer the Account of this Tragedy to the time wherein He has placed it: though on other Accounts this Author frequently makes Excurſions from Truth to meer Fiction and Romance.

Now as *Cyrus* was upon the March towards the Court, Tidings were brought him from all Parts that the King was not in haſte to come to Action, but determined to wait in the Heart of *Perſia*, 'till there ſhould be a general Confluence of his Forces from all Parts of his Dominions, and that in order to This he had cauſed a Retrenchment to be caſt up croſs the flat Country ten Fathom wide and as many deep, and extending in length for the ſpace of four hundred Furlongs from the River of *Euphrates* to the *Medan* Wall. Between the *Euphrates*, and this Retrenchment was left a Paſſage twenty Foot broad through which *Cyrus* marched with his Army; whilſt the King forbore to oppoſe him,

him, and ſuffered him to continue his March towards *Babylon*. We are told that *Tiribazus* was the Firſt who had Courage enough to repreſent to him that he ought not to abandon *Media*, *Babylon*, and *Suſa* to the Enemy, and lie skulking in *Perſia*, ſince he had an Army far more numerous than That of the Enemy, and ten thouſand *Satrapæ*, and other Officers, all of them equal to *Cyrus* both in the Field, and in the Cloſet.

Theſe Words made the King reſolve upon fighting; wherein he uſed ſo much Diligence that all on a ſudden he was at the Head of an Army of nine hundred thouſand Men, all well-diſciplined and prepared for Action. This extreamly ſtartled and ſurprized the Rebels, who with a Boldneſs equal to their Contempt marched againſt him in ſuch a confuſed diſorderly manner that they had their Arms carried for them; inſomuch that *Cyrus* found it almoſt impoſſible to draw up, and form, ſo great was the Noiſe, and Tumult; whilſt the King lead on his Men leiſurely, and in great Silence. This Sight very much ſurprized the *Græcians*, who expected to have found nothing but Diſorder and Confuſion in ſo great a Multitude, and to have heard the Heavens echo with the Cries of the *Barbarians*. *Artaxerxes* covered the Front of his Phalanx which was oppoſite to the *Græcians* with his armed Chariots, that by the fierceneſs of their Onſet they might cut down their Ranks before they cloſed with them.

Many Hiſtorians have given us a Deſcription of this Action, but no one with ſo much force as *Xenophon*, for in Him we do not read it, we ſee it. He poſſeſſeth his Reader ſo ſtrongly with it that he is as ſenſibly touched as if He Himſelf was engaged, and ſhared in the Danger; in ſuch lively Colours has he repreſented it. It muſt therefore be a Piece of the utmoſt Folly to attempt a Narration

ration of it after Him; ſo that I ſhall content my ſelf with relating ſome Particulars worthy of Memory, which He hath forgotten, or omitted. The Place then in which the two Armies engaged was called *Cunaxa*, being about five hundred Furlongs diſtant from *Babylon*. A little before the Fight *Clearchus* adviſed *Cyrus* not to expoſe his Perſon, but retire behind the *Macedonian* Battalions, whereupon *Cyrus* is ſaid to have replied, *What Advice is This thou giveſt me*, Clearchus? *Muſt I, at the ſame time that I am aiming at the Royalty, ſhew to all the World that I am unworthy of it?*

Cyrus committed a great Error in ruſhing headlong into the Midſt of Danger without any Precaution, and *Clearchus* was guilty of another as great, if not greater, (1) when he refuſed to draw up his *Græcians* againſt the main body of the Ene-

(1) This Charge brought by *Plutarch* againſt *Clearchus* who commanded the Right Wing in *Cyrus* his Army, deſerves ſome Conſideration. When both Armies were drawn up, *Cyrus* who was marching along the Line with his Interpreter, and three or four Perſons more, told *Clearchus* aloud *that He ought to charge in the Center, where the King was poſted, becauſe there lay the ſtreſs of the Battel.* But foraſmuch as the Enemy were ſo numerous that One of their Wings extended beyond the whole Front of *Cyrus* his Army, *Clearchus* was afraid of being ſurrounded, and cut off by the *Perſians*, if he quitted his Poſt near the River, and therefore returned for Anſwer *He might be ſatisfied that he would do every thing for the beſt. Plutarch* therefore accuſeth *Clearchus* for being guilty of a great Fault in not following the Orders of his General, and the Event of the Battel ſhewed he was in the Right. And yet *M. d'Ablancour* is for juſtifying *Clearchus* in his Notes upon this Part of the Hiſtory in *Xenophon*. *Plutarch*, ſaith he, *blames him in his Life of* Artaxerxes, *as if He had ruined* Cyrus. *But* Clearchus *was not anſwerable for the Event, and ſure he was a better Soldier than* Plutarch. Theſe are two very weak Reaſons. An Officer doth, in ſome degree, make himſelf anſwerable for the Event when he acts contrary to his Orders. *Clearchus* was a better Soldier than *Plutarch*, we will allow it, but *Plutarch* was as good a Soldier as *M. d'Ablancour*, and what is ſtill more, *Cyrus* was as good a Soldier as *Clearchus*, and foreſaw that the Succeſs of the Battel depended upon that Attack. So that *Plutarch* has juſtified his Cenſure of *Clearchus* with very ſolid Reaſons.

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my where the King ſtood, and charge there as *Cyrus* had deſired him, but joined his right Wing to the River for fear of being ſurrounded. For if he had nothing elſe in View but his own Safety, and deſired nothing more than to ſleep in a whole Skin, it had been beſt for him to have kept at home. But now after a March of ſo many Leagues even from the Sea to the Plains of *Babylon*, which had been undertaken without any other Inducement than to ſettle *Cyrus* in the Throne of the *Perſians*, that he ſhould now chuſe to draw up his Men not in a Place where he might be able to defend his General whoſe Pay he received, but where he might engage at Eaſe, and with Safety, This is the Action of One who was ſo ſhocked at the Senſe of the preſent Danger as to abandon all at once, and forget the very end and deſign of his Engagement. For it is certain that none of Thoſe who were poſted near the King's Perſon would have ſtood the *Græcians* if They had charged them; and it is as certain that if They had been broken, and the King either ſlain, or put to Flight, *Cyrus* muſt have been Conqueror, and that his Victory would have procured to him the Crown is not to be doubted, (1) as was manifeſt from the Event. And therefore *Clearchus* is more to be condemned for his Caution, which was manifeſtly the Deſtruction of the Life and Fortune of *Cyrus*, than He could be for his Heat and Raſhneſs. For if the King Himſelf had been to make choice of a place for the *Græcians*, where it would be in their Power to do him the leaſt Miſchief he could not have choſen one more commodious for his Purpoſe than That where *Clearchus* drew up near the River, from whence he could neither per-

(1) For the *Greeks* were victorious on their ſide, and *Cyrus* was ſlain by *Artaxerxes*, which would not have happened if the *Greeks* had followed the Directions of *Cyrus*.

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ceive the Defeat of *Artaxerxes*, nor the Death of *Cyrus*, who fell before he could receive any Benefit from the Victory of *Clearchus*. It is certain that *Cyrus* before the Battel begun knew very well what Meaſures were proper to be taken to warrant the Succeſs, and accordingly ordered *Clearchus* to charge in the middle, where the King was poſted, and *Clearchus*, after he had aſſured him that he would do every thing for the beſt, ruined the whole Affair. For the *Græcians* ſoon overthrew the *Barbarians*, with whom they engaged, and purſued them for a great way together. *Cyrus* being mounted on a headſtrong unruly Horſe called *Paſacas*, was met, as *Cteſias* relates it, by *Artagerſes* General of the *Caduſians*, who ſeeing him at a diſtance galloped up to him, crying aloud, *O thou moſt unjuſt and ſenſeleſs Wretch, Thou who art a Reproach to the Name of* Cyrus, *the moſt Auguſt and Honourable of all Names among the* Perſians, *thou haſt betrayed the valiant* Græcians *into a fatal Expedition to abandon to them the Plunder of thy Country, and vainly hopeſt to deſtroy the King thy Lord and Brother, who has Numbers of faithful Slaves, and Servants about his Perſon, all of them more valiant than Thyſelf, as thou ſhalt ſoon find to thy ſorrow, for here ſhalt thou this Inſtant loſe thy Head, before thou haſt ſo much as beheld the Face of his Majeſty.* At theſe Words he lanced his Javelin at him with all his force; but his Coat of Mail was ſo ſtrongly tempered that the Weapon could make no Impreſſion upon it; however the Violence of the Blow was ſo great that it made him ſtagger as he ſat on his Horſe, but as *Artagerſes* was turning His about *Cyrus* let fly at him ſo luckily that the Weapon pierced his Neck near the Shoulder-bone. For that *Artagerſes* was ſlain by *Cyrus* is what is generally acknowledged by almoſt all the Hiſtorians. But as for the Death of *Cyrus*, ſince *Xenophon* ſaith very little of it, becauſe he was not upon the Spot when

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it happened, it will not be amiſs to relate here the manner of it as it is repreſented by *Dinon*, and then ſubjoin the Account of it as we find it in *Cteſias*.

Dinon tells us that immediately upon the Death of *Artagerſes*, *Cyrus* having violently attacked the Van-guard of *Artaxerxes*, wounded his Horſe, and diſmounted him; that when *Tiribazus* beheld the King a-foot he mounted him on another Horſe, and ſaid to him, *Sir, remember this Day, which ought never to be forgotten*; that *Cyrus* attacked the King a ſecond time, and ſtaggered him, and that at the third Charge the King full of Indignation ſaid to Some who were near him, *I had better die than ſuffer ſuch Inſolence*, and making up to *Cyrus*, who was blindly ruſhing into a ſhower of the Enemy's Darts, wounded him with his Javelin at the ſame time that he was aſſaulted from every Quarter. Thus fell *Cyrus*, Some ſay by the Blow he received from the King, and Others that he was ſlain by a *Carian* Soldier, to whom the King in Recompence of that glorious Action granted the Privilege of bearing a golden Cock on the point of his Spear at the Head of the Army. For the *Perſians* call thoſe of *Caria* Cocks, by reaſon of the Creſts with which they adorn their Helmets. Thus is this Matter reported by *Dinon*, and That which follows is briefly extracted out of *Cteſias*.

After *Cyrus* had ſlain *Artagerſes*, he ſpurred up towards the King, and the King advanced to meet Him, without exchanging a Word on either ſide. *Arieus*, a Friend of *Cyrus*, firſt attacked the King without wounding him, then the King lanced his Javelin at *Cyrus*, whom he miſſed, but wounded (1) *Tiſaphernes* a Perſon of great Merit in the In-

(1) *Tiſaphernes* was one of the principal Officers in the Army of *Artaxerxes*; did i Another of the ſame Name ſerve under *Cyrus*? I am of Opinion that there is an Error in the Text, and that the right Reading is as it ſtands in the St. *Germain* MS. where we find *Satiphernes* inſtead of *Tiſaphernes*.

tereſt of *Cyrus*, and ſlew him. Upon This *Cyrus* directed his Javelin againſt his Brother, with ſo ſure and ſtrong a Hand, that the Weapon pierced his Cuiraſs, entered two Fingers deep into his Breaſt, and made him tumble from off his Horſe. This terrified his Troops, who fled, whilſt the King recovering his Legs, got off with a few of his Followers, among Whom was *Cteſias*, and making to a little Hill not far off he there repoſed himſelf. But *Cyrus*'s Horſe being high mettled, carried him a great Way into the midſt of his Enemies, the approaching Night making it hard for Them to know him, or his Followers to find him. However being fluſhed with Victory, and withal naturally bold and violent, he paſſed through them, crying out, in the *Perſian* Language, *Make way Slaves, make way.* As he repeated theſe Words almoſt every Moment, moſt of them did make way for him, and ſuffered him to paſs with great Tokens of Reſpect. But his Tiara, which he wore on his Head, unhappily falling off, a young *Perſian* named *Mithridates* by chance paſſing by wounded him with his Javelin in the Temple near his Eye, without knowing who he was. His Wound bled ſo faſt that he was immediately ſeized with a Dizineſs, and fell in a Swoon off his Horſe, which having loſt his Rider ran up and down the Field at large; but a Perſon belonging to Him who had wounded *Cyrus*, found the Furniture upon the Ground, and took it up all ſtained with Blood.

As *Cyrus* began to recover out of his Fit, ſome of his Eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him upon another Horſe, and ſo to convey him ſafe away; but finding himſelf in no Condition to get a Horſeback, he thought it better to walk, whilſt his Eunuchs taking him by each Arm with much Difficulty ſupported him. His Head was ſo ſtunned with the Blow that it hung on

on his Shoulder, and being exceeding faint from the loſs of Blood he ſtaggered at every ſtep he took. But his Spirits were revived with an Imagination of the Victory, which he thought his Own, for he heard the Runaways from every ſide calling *Cyrus* King, and crying out for Quarter.

In this Inſtant ſome *Caunians*, a miſerable Crew who followed the Royal Army, where they gained a Livelyhood from the vileſt Employments, happened to be in the Number of Thoſe who were attending about *Cyrus*. But having at laſt perceived the red Cloathing, which his Soldiers wore, they found they were got among their Enemies, for the King's Livery was White. One of Theſe had the Boldneſs to ſtrike him with his Spear behind, without knowing who he was. The Blow happened to light upon his Ham, and cut the Sinew, at which he fell flat on the Ground, and in his fall daſhed his wounded Temple againſt a Stone, and expired that Moment. This is *Cteſias*'s Account, wherein with a dull Knife he ſeems to hack *Cyrus* to death, and has much ado to ſhut up the Tragedy.

Cyrus was juſt expired when *Artoſyras*, who was called (1) *the Eye of the King*, paſſed that way on

(1) The *Perſian* Monarchs had a Sett of Miniſters, who were called *the Eyes of the King*, and whoſe Buſineſs it was to report to him whatever they ſaw in his Dominions; and Others were called *the Ears of the King*, becauſe They informed him of whatever they heard. For it was impoſſible for them to ſee and hear all that paſſed with their own Eyes, and Ears, wherefore *Ariſtotle* commends this Cuſtom in the ſixteenth Chap. of the third Book of his Republick. *It is perhaps abſurd*, ſaith he, *to think that One Man can ſee more with two Eyes, hear more with two Ears, and do more with two Hands, and two Feet, than many Men together. For this Reaſon we find thoſe Monarchs provide themſelves with many Eyes, many Ears, many Feet, and many Hands, and aſſociate to them Thoſe whom they find well affected to their Perſons, and their Country*, &c. And yet *Ariſtophanes* makes himſelf merry with this Title of *the Eye of the King*, in his *Acharnenſes*, Act. 1. Sc. ii. and iii.

Horſeback; He knew the Eunuchs, who were full of Grief and Lamentation, and addreſſing Himſelf to Him whom he took to be the moſt faithful, *Tell me*, ſaid he, *Pariſcas, Whom art thou ſo tenderly lamenting? O Artoſyras*, replied the Eunuch, *are You to be told that my Maſter* Cyrus *is dead? Artaſyras* at theſe Words expreſſed a great Concern, exhorted the Eunuch to be of good Chear, and look well to the Corps, immediately after which he made off with full ſpeed to *Artaxerxes*, who began to think his Affairs in a deſperate Condition, and was ready to faint with Thirſt as well as from the Anguiſh of his Wound, when *Artaſyras* came up, and with a loud Voice told him, *Cyrus is dead, I am Eye-witneſs of it.* The firſt Impreſſion the King received upon this Intelligence was an Impatience to ſee the dead Body Himſelf, and accordingly he commanded *Artaſyras* to conduct him to it. But when he obſerved a general Conſternation ſpread around, and it was credibly reported that the *Grecians* had prevailed on their ſide, that they were in Purſuit of Thoſe who fled, and put All to the Sword, he conſidered better, and choſe rather to ſend out a ſtronger Party, who were to inquire into the Truth of it, and make their Report to Him. In that Interval, he being upon the Point of expiring for want of ſomething to allay his Thirſt, *Satibarzanes* one of his Eunuchs hurried up and down in ſearch of Water, for the Plain where they lay afforded None, and they were at a great Diſtance from their Camp. After a long Search he at laſt luckily met with one of thoſe poor *Caunian* Slaves, who had in a naſty leathern Bottle about four Pints of baſe ſtinking Water; which he took and preſented to the King, who drank it all off at one Draught. The Eunuch asked him, *if he did not find it a nauſeous Potion*, and the King ſwore by all his Gods, *that he never found*

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the moſt delicious Wines ſo grateful to his Palate, nor Water taken from the cleareſt and moſt limpid Streams ſo refreſhing. I am ſo thoroughly pleaſed with it, continued he, *that if I have not the good Fortune to ſee and reward Him who gave it thee, I pray the Gods to make him both rich and proſperous.* No ſooner had he ſaid This, but his Scouts arrived with Joy and Triumph in their Looks, bringing him the Tidings of his unexpected Fortune. And now he was encouraged by the great Number and Confluence of his Soldiers who flocked to him, and deſcended into the Plain by the Light of an infinite Number of Flambeaus. As ſoon as he was come to the Place where the Corps of his Brother lay, he ordered his right Hand and Head to be cut off, according to the Law of the *Perſians*, and commanding the Head to be brought to Him, he took it in his Hands, and graſping it by the Hair, which was long and buſhy, he ſhewed it to his Men, as they were wavering, and ſtill upon the Wing. They were all aſtoniſhed at the ſight, paid him their Adorations according to the Cuſtom of their Country, and joined his Troops, ſo that in the ſpace of a few Hours he had rallied and got together a Body of ſeventy thouſand Men, and returned with them to the Camp.

Cteſias writes that *Artaxerxes* had not in that Engagement above four hundred thouſand effective Men. But *Dinon* and *Xenophon* make the Number much greater. As to the Number of the Slain, *Cteſias* ſaith the Accounts given in of them to the King made them amount to no more than nine thouſand, tho' they appeared to Him to be no leſs than Twenty; but this Article is ſubject to Controverſy. That which *Cteſias* adds, that He was ſent by the King with *Phayllus* the *Zacynthian*, and ſome Others, to offer Terms to the *Grecians*, is a notorious Falſity. For *Xenophon* knew very well

that *Cteſias* was in the King's Service, and makes mention of him in his Hiſtory. It is not therefore likely that if *Cteſias* had been ſent to the *Greeks* on the Part of the King, and had been employed in ſo important a Service, *Xenophon* would have omitted naming Him in the Embaſſy, any more than he did *Phayllus*. But *Cteſias* (as it is evident) being ſtrangely vain-glorious, and a great Favourer of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Clearchus*, never fails to aſſume to Himſelf ſome Province in his Narrative, which gives him an Opportunity of ſpeaking many things to the Advantage of *Clearchus*, and *Lacedæmon*. When the Battel was over, *Artaxerxes* ſent many magnificent Preſents to the Son of *Artagerſes*, who had been ſlain by *Cyrus*. He conferred likewiſe high Honours upon *Cteſias* and Others, and having found out the *Caunian*, who gave him the Bottle of Water, he made him of a poor obſcure Fellow a Perſon of great Wealth and Conſideration. As for the Puniſhments he inflicted upon Delinquents, there was a kind of Harmony betwixt Them and their Crimes. He gave Order that one *Arbaces* a *Mede*, who during the Fight had deſerted to *Cyrus*, and after his Death returned back to his Poſt in the Army, ſhould take up a Whore ſtark naked, and carry her hanging by his Neck a whole Day round about the Market-place, therein cenſuring his Cowardice and Effeminacy, rather than his Treaſon and Malignity. Another, not content with having deſerted, bragged with as much Impudence as Falſhood that he had with his own Hands killed two of the Enemy: Whereupon the King ordered his Tongue to be bore through with three Awls.

As he verily believed that He had ſlain *Cyrus* with his own Hand, and being deſirous that all the World ſhould believe and ſay ſo too, he ſent very rich Preſents to *Mithridates*, who firſt wounded him,

him, and ordered Thoſe by Whom they were ſent to tell him, *The King has honoured thee with theſe Preſents, becauſe when thou hadſt found the Trappings belonging to the Horſe of* Cyrus *thou didſt deliver them to his Majeſty.* And when the *Carian*, who wounded *Cyrus* in the Ham, upon which he fell, ſued likewiſe for His Reward, the King granted it, and commanded Thoſe who carried it to him to ſay in His Name, *The King makes thee a Preſent of This for being the ſecond Meſſenger of the good News, for* Artaſyras *was the Firſt who brought him an Account of the Death of* Cyrus, *and Thou the Second.*

As for *Mithridates*, He retired in Diſcontent and Silence. But the unfortunate *Carian* ſuffered himſelf to be drawn by his Folly into a Paſſion of all Others the moſt incident to human Frailty, and that is Vanity. Being raviſhed with the ſight of the Princely Gifts that were before him, and tempted thereupon to aſpire to things infinitely above him, he would not have theſe Royal Preſents conſidered as a Recompenſe for his good News, but fell into a Paſſion, made a great Noiſe, and called all the World to Witneſs that He, and only He had killed *Cyrus*, and complained of the great Injuſtice the King did him in depriving him of the Glory. The King being informed of this Inſolence was ſo highly exaſperated that he ordered him that Inſtant to be beheaded. The Queen Mother happening to be preſent at that time, ſaid, *Sir, do not diſcharge this pernicious* Carian *upon ſuch eaſy Terms, leave him rather to my Vengeance, and let Me deal out to him the Chaſtiſement due to ſuch inſolent Boaſtings.* When the King had conſigned him over to the Mercy of *Paryſatis*, ſhe charged the Executioners to ſeize him and ſtretch him upon the Rack for ten Days, then to punch out his Eyes, and drop molten Braſs into his Ears 'till at length he expired with the very Anguiſh of his Tortures.

Mithridates alſo within a ſhort time after miſerably periſhed by his own Folly: for being invited to a Feaſt where the King and Queen Mother's Eunuchs were preſent, he came arrayed in the Robe and other Ornaments, with which the King had preſented him. When they were at Table, and began to grow warm with Wine, *Paryſatis* the Queen Mother's chief Eunuch ſaid, *Ah!* Mithridates, *how beautiful is this Robe! how fine thoſe Chains, and Bracelets! and what a Symetar is there! How happy has the King made thee! Thou art the Admiration and Envy of All that ſee thee.* *Mithridates*, who was by this time grown Pot valiant, replied, *Theſe are all Trifles, my dear* Sparamixes, *if compared to what I made it appear I deſerved in the Day of Battel.* At theſe Words *Sparamixes* ſmiling ſaid, *I do not ſpeak to thee out of Envy, good* Mithridates, *but as the* Greeks *have a Proverb among them ſignifying that when the Wine is in Truth will out, let me ask thee freely, and without Offence, was it ſuch a mighty matter to find the Trappings of the Horſe of* Cyrus, *and carry them to the King?*

This he ſpoke not becauſe he was ignorant of the Truth, but becauſe he had a Mind to pump him before Witneſſes. Accordingly this Reproach provoked the Vanity of the Man, who was naturally talkative in his Cups, wherefore being now no longer Maſter of his Tongue, *You may*, ſaid he, *talk what you pleaſe of Horſe Trappings, and ſuch Trifles, but I muſt take the Liberty to tell you in plain terms that by this Hand fell* Cyrus. *For I did not caſt a random Dart at him, as did* Artagerſes, *but ſmote him with my Javelin near the Eye in his Temple, and That with ſo much Force, that it penetrated quite through his Head, ſo that I brought him to the Ground, and of that ſingle Wound he died.* All who were at Table foreſaw with dejected Looks the Deſtiny of the

the indiſcreet and unfortunate *Mithridates*, when He who gave the Entertainment turning the Diſcourſe ſaid to him, *Let Us adore the Fortune of the King, and drink, and be merry, without meddling with Points which are ſo far above us.*

As ſoon as Supper was ended the Eunuch went, and acquainted *Paryſatis* with all that had paſſed, and ſhe as readily informed the King, who was exceedingly enraged at it, as having the Lye given him, by which he was to be deprived of the moſt glorious and delightful Circumſtance of his Victory. For it was his Ambition to have all Men, both *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, verily believe that in the ſeveral Conflicts between Him and his Brother, he had been ſlightly wounded by *Cyrus*, and that in Return he had wounded Him mortally. Wherefore it was decreed that *Mithridates* ſhould die, and the King ordered him *to be boated.* This is a Puniſhment inflicted after the following Manner. They make choice of two Boats of the ſame ſize, framed to fit each other exactly. In One of theſe they place the Criminal flat on his Back, and cover it with the Other in ſuch a Manner that the Trunk is cloſe ſhut up, and only the Head left bare at one End, and the Feet at the Other. In this Condition they offer him Food, and if he refuſeth to eat they force him to it, by running Needles into his Eyes. When he has fed they drench him with a Mixture of Milk and Honey, which they pour likewiſe upon his Face, and keep it turned to the Sun, that he may have it always in his Eyes, ſo that his Countenance is covered all over with Flies, which ſettle upon it for the ſake of the Milk and Honey. As he is forced to evacuate, and make ſuch Diſcharges within, which They who eat and drink are of neceſſity ſubject to, great Plenty of Vermine ſpring out of the Corruption and Rottenneſs of his Excrements, which

which gnaw his Fleſh, and penetrate to his very Bowels. As ſoon as it appears that he is dead, they take off the uppermoſt Boat and find his Fleſh devoured, and ſwarms of thoſe noiſome Creatures ſtill preying upon, and, as it were, growing to his Inwards. *Mithridates* languiſhed under this cruel and inhuman Puniſhment for ſeventeen days together, and then expired.

The only Perſon remaining who was to feel the Vengeance of *Paryſatis* was *Meſabates*, one of the King's Eunuchs, who by his Maſter's Command had cut off the Head and Hand of *Cyrus*. But whereas he was ſo circumſpect in his Behaviour that he gave her no Advantage againſt him, ſhe framed the following Snare to intrap him. She was a very ingenious Woman upon all other Accounts, but eſpecially an excellent Artiſt at Dice, and before the War had often played with the King, (1) as ſhe did likewiſe after it was concluded, as ſoon as ſhe was received into Favour. She made One in almoſt all his Parties of Pleaſure, was admitted into the Secrets of his Amours, and was ſerviceable to him with his Miſtreſſes. In a word, ſhe was as little out of his ſight as poſſible, and regretted every Hour *Statira* had him to her ſelf. For ſhe mortally hated her, and was for being always Firſt in her Son's Favour.

One day therefore when ſhe found the King at Leiſure ſhe propoſed to play at Dice with him for

(1) Here are three or four Lines wanting in the Text, which are ſupplied from the St. *Germain* MS. The entire Paſſage is as followeth, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον [διαλυθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς ἔφευγε τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπαιζε, καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐκοινώνει συμπράττουσα, καὶ παροῦσα, καὶ ὅλως μικρῶ τοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ Στατείρᾳ μετεδίδου χρῆσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι, μισοῦσα τε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνην καὶ μέγιστον ἀντιβαλομένη δύνασθαι λαβοῦσα] δὴ πότε τὸν, &c. But what is very extraordinary is that the *Latin* Interpreter has tranſlated all this Paſſage, tho' it is not to be found in the *Greek* Text.

a thouſand *Darii*. The King took her up, beat her, and was paid upon the Nail; but pretending to be concerned for her Loſs, ſhe preſſed him to begin a new Game, and offered to play with him for an Eunuch; in which he complied with her. It was agreed between them, that each of them might except five of the moſt truſty Eunuchs, and that out of the reſt the Loſer ſhould yield up any the Winner ſhould make choice of. Upon theſe Conditions they played. Thus being vigorous upon her Deſign, and intent on her Game, and the Dice running luckily for her, ſhe won, and pitched upon *Meſabates*, who was not in the number of the five that had been excepted. As ſoon as ſhe had got him in her Power, and before the King could conceive the leaſt ſuſpicion of the Vengeance ſhe deſigned, ſhe delivered him up to the Executioners, commanded them to flea him alive, to ſet his Body upon three ſharp Stakes, and to ſtretch his Skin upon Stakes ſeparately from it.

When the King came to be informed of what ſhe had done he was highly incenſed at it, but She without the leaſt Concern turned it into a Jeſt, and told him laughing, *You are a fine Gentleman indeed to be thus concerned for an old decrepid Eunuch, when I, after I had loſt a thouſand* Darii *paid them honeſtly, without the leaſt Murmur, or Token of Diſcontent.*

Artaxerxes was nettled at the Trick ſhe had plaid him, and vexed to find himſelf ſo over-reached by her, but took no farther Notice of it. But *Statira* did both upon other Accounts openly oppoſe her, and was irreconcileably angry with her for This, that ſhe did againſt all Law and Humanity ſacrifice the Eunuchs, and the King's moſt Loyal Subjects, to the Ghoſt of her darling *Cyrus*.

(1) When

(1) When *Tiſaphernes* had betrayed *Clearchus*, and the other *Græcian* Leaders, in breach of the moſt Solemn Oaths and Promiſes, and clapt them in Irons, *Cteſias* tells us that *Clearchus* requeſted of Him to procure a Comb for him, which when he had obtained, and uſed, he was ſo pleaſed with it that in Return he preſented him with a Ring, to the end that if ever he had Occaſion to go to *Sparta* he might produce it to his Friends and Relations, as a Token of the great Friendſhip and Reſpect he had for him, and that the Sculpture on the *Beazil* repreſented (2) the Dance of the *Caryatides*. He adds, that the other *Græcians*, who were his Fellow-Priſoners, intercepted the daily Proviſions appointed for *Clearchus*, and retaining the greateſt ſhare to Themſelves allowed Him but a poor Pittance; that He put a ſtop to that Abuſe by cauſing a larger allowance to be ſent to *Clearchus*, and as for the reſt he provided that every Man ſhould have his particular Dole; that all this was done by the Ap-

(1) *Xenophon* in his eleventh Book relates at large all that paſſed at the Interview between *Clearchus* and *Tiſaphernes*, and the Treachery of the *Perſian*: *Clearchus*, going to the Tent of *Tiſaphernes* attended by four of his principal Officers and twenty Captains, He and the Officers were called in and Arreſted, at the ſame time that the twenty Captains were cut to Pieces. Some time afterwards the King commanded *Clearchus*, and the four Officers, All except *Menon*, to be beheaded.

(2) All that read this Paſſage muſt be deſirous to know what this Dance of the *Caryatides* could be which was thus engraven on the Ring of *Clearchus*. *Pauſanias* has deſcribed it at large in his *Laconicks*, where he tells us that the third Turning on the right Hand as they come down from the Place called *Hermes* leads to *Carya*, and the Temple of *Diana*, for the whole Borough of *Carya* is dedicated to *Diana*, and the Nymphs; that in the Court before the Temple ſtands a Statue of *Diana Caryatis*; and that the *Spartan* Virgins come once a Year to dance round it. It is very plain therefore that this Dance of the *Caryatides* repreſented on the Ring of *Clearchus* is the Dance mentioned by *Pauſanias*. *Lucan* in his Treatiſe of Dancing ſpeaks of this Dance, which received its Name from the Town of *Carya*, and was peculiar to it, as we now-a-days find ſeveral Places famous for certain Dances, Natives, if we may ſo call them, of thoſe Places.

pointment

pointment and at the Expence of *Paryſatis*; he ſaith farther, that it being his Cuſtom to ſend him every day a Gammon of Bacon among his other Proviſions, *Clearchus* inſinuated to him, and earneſtly intreated him to bury a ſhort Knife in the Fleſh of one of thoſe Gammons, and ſend it to him, that his Life might be not longer ſubject to the arbitrary Will of *Artaxerxes*. He goeth on, and ſaith he refuſed to grant him that Requeſt for fear of the King's Diſpleaſure, and the rather becauſe *Artaxerxes* had bound himſelf under an Oath to his Mother, who earneſtly interceded for him, to ſpare *Clearchus*; notwithſtanding which at the Inſtigation of his Queen *Statira* he put every Man of them to Death but *Menon*. That from that Moment *Paryſatis* watched her Opportunity to get ſhut of *Statira*, and to remove her by Poiſon. But in This he gives us great Reaſon to ſuſpect his Veracity; for how is it to be believed that *Paryſatis* ſhould expoſe her ſelf to the Danger of ſo hazardous an Enterprize as that of Poiſoning a Princeſs, her Son's lawful Wife, a Wife by whom he had Iſſue, which was one day to ſucceed him, and all for the ſake of *Clearchus?* But it is evident that This is nothing better than an Invention of the Hiſtorian, an imaginary Obelisk raiſed up by him to the Memory of *Clearchus*. For he would have us believe, that when the other Generals were executed, they were torn in Pieces by Dogs and Birds; but as for the Remains of *Clearchus*, that a violent Guſt of Wind drove before it a vaſt Heap of Sand, which covered His Body, and gave it the Honour of a Monument; that Date-trees ſprung up round about it, and throve to that degree that in a ſhort time they formed a lovely Grove, which ſcattered its ſhade all over the Place; that the King was ſo touched with the Miracle that he heartily repented of what he had done

done to *Clearchus*, whom he conſidered as a Favourite of the Gods.

It was not therefore in Revenge of *Clearchus* that *Paryſatis* had entertained a Deſign of poiſoning *Statira*; ſhe was provoked to it by the Hatred and Jealouſy ſhe had long before conceived againſt her, becauſe ſhe perceived that what Credit She had with the King her Son was the effect only of the Conſideration and Reſpect he had for her, as for his Mother, but that *Statira*'s Intereſt in him was founded in Love and Affection, which rendered it more ſtrong and laſting. This Conſideration only determined her to throw at All, and at once get ſhut of ſo formidable a Rival. Among her Maids of Honour there was one who was in the higheſt Eſteem with her, whoſe Name was *Gigis*. *Dinon* ſaith that ſhe aſſiſted her in preparing the Poiſon. But *Cteſias* affirms ſhe was only privy to it, and that it was much againſt her Approbation. She who adminiſtred the Poiſon is called *Melantas* by *Cteſias*, and by *Dinon Belitaras*.

Theſe two Princeſſes having ſeemingly forgot their antient Piques and Jealouſies, were reconciled in Appearance, viſited as heretofore, and eat at each other's Tables. But as their mutual Diſtruſt ſtill ſubſiſted, they continued to keep upon their Guard, eat of the ſame Diſh, (1) and even of the ſame Slices. (2) There is a ſmall Bird in *Perſia* the Guts of

(1) Thus in my Opinion the Words following are to be tranſlated, τοῖς αὐλοῖς σιτίοις, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο. They did not only eat of the ſame Meats, that Precaution was not thought ſufficient, but they eat of the very ſame Pieces, which were divided between them. That This was the Caſe will appear from what follows.

(2) It was a Bird like the *French Ortolans*. And this is a proof of the Explication given to *Plutarch*'s Text in the preceding Remark; for it plainly appears that thoſe Princeſſes did not think it ſafe enough to eat of the ſame Meats, unleſs they partaked likewiſe of the ſame Bits, or Morſels. It is not uſual to divide, or cut up an *Ortolan*, They are eaten Whole, but the mutual Diffidence and Jealouſie of the Queens obliged them to divide it.

which

which are without Excrement, and the Inſide of it wholly fat; ſo that they ſuppoſe the little Creature lives upon Air and Dew. It is call'd *Ryntaces*. *Cteſias* affirms, that *Paryſatis* dividing this Bird with a Knife rubbed with Poiſon on the one ſide, and free from it on the other, eat the untoucht and wholeſome Part Her ſelf, and gave *Statira* That which was infected. But *Dinon* will not have it to be *Paryſatis*, but *Melantas* who cut up the Bird, and preſented the envenomed Part to *Statira*, who dying with horrid Agonies and Convulſions, was both her ſelf ſenſible of the virulent Drug ſhe had taken, and intimated her Suſpicion of the Queen Mother to the King, who knew her brutiſh Fierceneſs, and implacable Temper. As ſoon as *Statira* was dead he made a ſtrict Inquiry into the whole Affair. He cauſed all his Mother's Officers and domeſtick Servants who attended at her Table to be ſeized, and put upon the Rack. *Paryſatis* kept *Gigis* ſafe in her own Apartment, and tho' the King often ſent to demand her ſhe ſtill refuſed to produce her. At laſt *Gigis* requeſted the Queen to let her ſteal home by Night to her own Houſe, of which the King being advertiſed he had her intercepted by ſome of his Guards, who lay in wait for her, and paſſed Sentence of Death upon her. The Puniſhment inflicted by the Laws of *Perſia* on Poiſoners is as followeth. They have a very broad Stone prepared for that purpoſe, upon which they place the Head of the Criminal, and continue to knock and ſqueeze it with another 'till it is bruiſed to Pieces, and nothing of the Figure is left remaining. And this Puniſhment was inflicted on *Gigis*. As for *Paryſatis*, the King neither ſaid or did any thing ſevere againſt Her, farther than to confine her at her own Requeſt to the City of *Babylon*, which he declared he would never viſit whilſt She reſided in it. This was the ſituation of *Artaxerxes*'s domeſtick Affairs.

During

During all theſe Tranſactions, the King omitted nothing ſo he might get into his Power thoſe adventurous *Græcians*, who came with *Cyrus*, and defied him almoſt under the Walls of his Capital; it was what he deſired with as ſtrong a Paſſion, as he had before deſired to overthrow *Cyrus*, and maintain himſelf in his Dominions. But This was not to be effected; for They after they had loſt *Cyrus* their General, and the reſt of the Commanders, forced their way as it were through the Gates of his very Palace, retired in Safety through the Heart of his Dominions in Defiance of his Power, and made it appear to all the World (1) that *Artaxerxes* and his *Perſians* excelled only in Wealth, Luxury, Women, Vain-glory, and Oſtentation. This inſtilled into the *Græcians* a marvellous Confidence in their own Forces, and a Contempt of the *Barbarians*. Inſomuch that the *Lacedæmonians* thought it a ſhame not to lay hold on the preſent Conjuncture, now whilſt they had an Opportunity of breaking the Yoke of Servitude, which galled the *Aſiatick Græcians*, and free them from the contumelious Outrages of their inſolent Maſters. Their firſt Eſſay was with an Army under the Command of *Thimbron*, the next they tryed was *Dercyllidas*, but when they found all their Efforts ineffectual they at laſt committed the whole Conduct of the War to *Ageſilaus*. That Prince paſſed into *Aſia* with a powerful Fleet, performed at firſt many gallant Exploits, and acquired much Reputation, for he defeated *Tiſaphernes* the King's Lieutenant in a pitched Battel, and cauſed ſeveral of the Cities to revolt from the *Perſians*.

(1) This was very manifeſt, for all the Forces the King had could not hinder thoſe ten thouſand *Greeks* from traverſing Sword in Hand through the Heart of his Dominions, and making a Retreat, which will ever be remembred to the Honour of *Greece* and the Ignominy of *Perſia*.

Theſe

Theſe great Atchievements taught *Artaxerxes* in what manner he was to carry on the War againſt the *Græcians*. He ſent *Hermocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece* with vaſt Treaſures of Gold, commanding him by a free Diſtribution of it to corrupt the leading Men in the Cities, and to ſtir up the reſt of the *Græcians* to an united Engagement againſt *Sparta*. *Hermocrates* ſucceeded wonderfully in his Commiſſion; moſt of the leading Cities conſpired againſt *Lacedæmon*, and all *Peloponneſus* was put into a Ferment; inſomuch that the Council of *Sparta* were conſtrained to recal *Ageſilaus* out of *Aſia*. Upon This we are told that as he was embarking he ſaid to ſome of his Friends, who were near him, *that* Artaxerxes *had driven him out of* Aſia *with thirty thouſand Archers*, the *Perſian* Coin having an Archer ſtampt upon it. *Artaxerxes* likewiſe gained the Dominion of the Sea from the *Lacedæmonians* by the Aſſiſtance of *Conon* Admiral of the *Athenians*, who acted in Conjunction with his own Admiral *Pharnabazus*. For *Conon*, after he had been beaten by the *Spartans* at *Ægos Potamos*, kept cloſe in *Cyprus*, not only for the ſafety of his own Perſon but to watch the turn of Affairs, as Mariners do the Turn of the Tide when they are to embark. Perceiving therefore that the Schemes he had formed wanted a Power to ſet them in Motion, and that the Power of the *Perſians* wanted ſome experienced Head to direct, and conduct it, he wrote to the King, and ſent him a Plan of his Deſigns, commanding the Perſon, with whom he entruſted his Letters, to contrive it ſo as to have them preſented to his Majeſty either by *Zeno* of *Crete* or by *Polycritus* the *Mendæan*, the Firſt of which was his Dancing-Maſter, and the Other a Phyſician; and in caſe they were Both abſent from Court he was then to apply to *Cteſias*.

It is ſaid that *Cteſias* had the Delivery of theſe Letters in the Abſence of the other Two, and that before he preſented them to the King he added a Clauſe wherein he made *Conon deſire of his Majeſty to ſend* Cteſias *to him as a Perſon who could be very uſeful to his Service, particularly on Account of his great Skill in maritime Affairs.* But *Cteſias* ſaith, the King ſent him of his own Motion, without any Intimation either from Him, or *Conon.*

After *Artaxerxes* had defeated them by his Lieutenants, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, in the naval Engagement near *Cnidos*, and ſtripped them of their Dominion by Sea, he drew all *Greece* over to his Intereſt, and impoſed what terms he pleaſed upon them in that celebrated Peace, which was called the Peace of *Antalcidas.* This *Antalcidas* was a *Spartan*, the Son of *Leon*, and ſo great a Stickler for the King's Intereſt that he prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians* to give up all the Cities in *Aſia*, and the adjacent Iſlands, which were to remain tributary to the *Perſians* in vertue of the Peace, if we may give the venerable Name of Peace to That which was the Reproach and Ruin of *Greece*; a Peace more inglorious in its Conſequences than an entire Defeat could have been in the Proceſs of a long deſtructive War. And therefore *Artaxerxes*, though he always abominated other *Spartans*, and looked upon them (as *Dinon* ſays) to be the moſt impudent Men living, did yet put a ſtrange Value upon *Antalcidas*, when he came to him into *Perſia:* Inſomuch that one day he took a Garland of Flowers, dip'd it in an Ointment of ineſtimable Value, which He Himſelf made uſe of at his Table, and ſent it to *Antalcidas*, whilſt the whole Court were aſtoniſhed at ſo particular a Mark of Favour and Diſtinction. Indeed *Antalcidas* was a Perſon fit to be treated with ſo much Softneſs and

and Effeminacy, (1) who could make one at a *Perſian* Ball, and had the Impudence to mimick in a wanton Dance *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, Two of the moſt worthy Men in *Sparta*. Wherefore when a certain Perſon in the Hearing of *Ageſilaus lamented the Fate of* Greece, *which had brought it ſo low that the* Spartans *were turning* Medes, that Prince replied (2) ſmartly, *Say rather the* Medes *are turning* Spartans. And yet the Smartneſs of the Repartee could not wipe off the Infamy of the Action. Soon after This they entirely loſt their Preeminence in *Greece* (3) by the fatal Defeat they received at *Leuctra*, which totally broke their Power, as this infamous Peace had before eclipſed their Honour.

Whilſt *Sparta* held the firſt Rank in *Greece Artaxerxes* careſſed *Antalcidas*, profeſſing to him all the Obligations of Friendſhip, and Hoſpitality; but when this Battel at *Leuctra* had humbled them they found themſelves diſtreſſed for want of Money, which made them ſend *Ageſilaus* into *Ægypt*, and order *Antalcidas* to return to the Court of

(1) This is a ſevere but juſt Reflection upon *Antalcidas*, who deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a Crown which was a Token of the *Perſian* Softneſs and Luxury, ſince he was ſo mean-ſpirited, as to ſcoff in Publick at the Severity of the *Spartan* Diſcipline, and bid Defiance to all the Principles of Honour and Modeſty. How did he ſacrifice the Honour of his Country to the Pride of the *Barbarians*, when in his Dance he pretended to ridicule two Perſons ſuch as *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, Men of that Virtue and Dignity in *Sparta* the Terror and Scourge of the *Barbarians!*

(2) *Ageſilaus* by this Anſwer was for obviating the Notion of Inferiority, which that Saying fixed upon *Sparta*, for it is uſual for the Vanquiſhed to receive the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Conquerors. If it be not taken in this Senſe his Anſwer was neither ſmart nor pertinent.

(3) Where the *Thebans*, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, defeated the *Lacedæmonians* commanded by *Cleombrotus*, who fell in the Action. This happened in the eleventh Year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, 369 Years before the Incarnation, and fourteen Years after the Peace of *Antalcidas*, which he had been mentioning juſt before.

Perſia to preſs for Supplies from thence. But the King received him ſo coldly, and treated him with ſo much Indifference and Contempt, that he returned back in great Confuſion to *Sparta*; where being ſcorned by his Enemies, and in Fear of the *Ephori*, he ſtarved himſelf to death. About the ſame time *Iſmenias* the *Theban*, and *Pelopidas*, who overthrew the *Spartans* at *Leuctra*, arrived at the Court of *Artaxerxes*. *Pelopidas* did nothing mean, or diſhonourable; but *Iſmenias* being commanded to adore the Prince, let his Ring fall upon the Ground before him, and as he ſtooped to take it up he made That paſs for an Act of Adoration. *Timagoras* the *Athenian* one day ſent the King a Letter of ſecret Intelligence, which was delivered to him by *Beluris* a Secretary, with the Contents of which the King was ſo well pleaſed that he immediately ſent him a thouſand *Darii*. The ſame *Timagoras* falling into a languiſhing Diſtemper, and being preſcribed the uſe of Cow's Milk, *Artaxerxes* immediately made him a Preſent of fourſcore milch Cows, which were conſtantly to attend him for that Service. He moreover ſent him a Bed with every thing belonging to it, and with Valets to make it, (1) becauſe the *Greeks* were not expert in that ſort of domeſtick Service, (2) and Chairmen to carry him in a Sedan to the Sea-ſide by Reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, to all

(1) This is a farther Inſtance of the *Perſian* Softneſs and Effeminacy. They thought the *Græcians* too unpolite to be capable of that domeſtick Service. Wherefore *Agamemnon* ſaith in the firſt Book of the *Iliad*, *that he will detain* Chryſeis *in his Palace on purpoſe to deck, or make his Bed*, an Office wherein the *Aſiaticks* were exceeding skilful.

(2) We ſhall hardly find another Inſtance of ſo long a Journey performed in a Chair, for it is a great Diſtance from the *Perſian* Court to the Sea-ſide. *Plutarch*, who has given us a full Account of This Hiſtorical Fact in the Life of *Pelopidas*, tells us there that the Chairmen received of the King four Talents as a Reward of their Service.

which

which we may add the ſumptuous Allowance for his Table all the while he reſided at Court, which made *Oſtanes* the King's Brother ſay to him one day, Timagoras, *you ought never to forget how magnificently you are entertained, ſuch coſtly Treatment is not for nothing*; which he ſpoke rather to reproach him for his Treaſon, than to inſpire him with Gratitude. Accordingly *Timagoras* was ſome time after his Return condemned to dye by the *Athenians*, for having been corrupted by Bribes from the King of *Perſia*.

Artaxerxes did one thing, which was extreamly agreeable to the *Græcians*, and ſeemed a ſort of Atonement for the many Injuries he had done them. He cauſed *Tiſaphernes*, the moſt implacable of all their Enemies, to be put to Death, wherein *Paryſatis* was likewiſe inſtrumental, adding many Articles to the Charge brought againſt him. For the King perſiſted not long in Wrath with his Mother, but was reconciled to her, and ſent for her, being aſſured that ſhe had Wiſdom and Courage fit for an Empire, and there was now no Cauſe diſcernable, but that they might converſe together without Suſpicion or Offence. From that time ſhe humoured the King according to his Hearts Deſire, ſaid and did every thing he would have her, and ſo got an abſolute Aſcendant over him. She perceived he was deſperately in Love with *Atoſſa*, one of his own Daughters, and that he concealed and checkt his Paſſion chiefly out of regard to Her, though ſome Authors ſay he had before That made his Addreſſes in ſecret to her, and enjoyed her. As ſoon as *Paryſatis* ſuſpected the Intrigue, ſhe grew more fond of her Grand-daughter than before, and extolled her to *Artaxerxes* both for her Virtue and Beauty, which, ſhe ſaid, made her worthy of the imperial Dignity. In ſhort ſhe perſuaded him to eſpouſe

her, and declare her his lawful Wife, in ſpite of the Laws and Opinions of the *Greeks*. *For You*, ſaid ſhe, *are a Law to the* Perſians, *appointed by God to be the only Rule to Them of what is honeſt, or diſhoneſt, virtuous, or vicious*. Some Hiſtorians, among whom is *Heraclides* of *Cuma*, farther affirm, that *Artaxerxes* did not only marry *Atoſſa*, but likewiſe another of his Daughters named *Ameſtris*, of which mention will be made hereafter. His Love for *Atoſſa* was ſo ardent and ſincere, that though the Leproſy had ſpread itſelf over her whole Body, it gave him not the leaſt Diſtaſte or Coolneſs towards her, on the contrary he ſpent whole days in the Temple of *Juno*, adoring Her alone, proſtrate on his Face before her Statue, graſping the Earth, and pouring out his Prayers to the Goddeſs for her Recovery. At the ſame time he cauſed ſo many Offerings to be made her by his Officers and Favourites, that all the Road leading from the Palace to the Temple for two Miles together was choaked up with Preſents of Gold, Silver, Stuffs of Purple, (1) and Horſes, which they were continually ſending to her.

He declared War againſt the *Ægyptians*, committing it to the Conduct of his Lieutenants *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates*; but this Expedition proved unfortunate in the Event, by reaſon of a Miſunderſtanding between thoſe two Generals. He went in Perſon againſt the *Caduſians* with an Army of three hundred thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe. Their Country is by Nature

(1) I am a little doubtful of the Word ἱππων, *Horſes*. Did they ſend Horſes to *Juno*'s Temple? to what end did they ſend them? were they to be ſacrificed there? They never offered Horſes in Sacrifice to *Juno*. Beſides, how come Horſes to be enumerated among Preſents of Gold, Silver, and Stuffs of Purple? I am of Opinion that inſtead of ἱππων it ought to be λίθων, *precious Stones*, for ſince they ſent her preſents of Gold, Silver, and rich Stuffs, it may reaſonably be imagined that Jewels were not forgotten.

rough,

rough, and almoſt impaſſable, continually covered with thick Clouds, producing neither Corn nor Fruit for the Suſtenance of the Inhabitants, a robuſt warlike People, who are forced to live upon Pears and Apples, which grow wild and uncultivated. Into this inhoſpitable Region did the unwary Prince penetrate, and expoſed himſelf to infinite Diſtreſs and Danger; for nothing was to be got to ſubſiſt his Forces in that deſert Place, and it was impoſſible to be ſupplied from any Other, through the Badneſs of the Roads, which were utterly impracticable. The whole Camp were forced to live on Beaſts of Burden, which ſoon became ſo ſcarce, that the Head of an Aſs was ſold for ſixty Drachmas. The King's own Table began to be in Want; few Horſes were left, the reſt having been ſpent for Food.

In this Exigency *Tiribazus*, a Perſon who was often in the higheſt Favour with his Prince in reſpect to his Valour, and as often degraded on account of his Levity, and who at this very time was the Laughing-ſtock of the whole Army, preſerved the King, and all his Forces, by the following Stratagem. There were two Kings of the *Caduſians*, Both of them in ſeparate Camps with their reſpective Forces. *Tiribazus* having firſt communicated his Deſign to *Artaxerxes*, went to One of thoſe Princes Himſelf, and ſent his Son to the Other. Each of them cheated the Prince he had to deal with, telling him that the Other was ſending, unknown to Him, his Ambaſſadors to *Artaxerxes* to negotiate a ſeparate Alliance excluſive of Him, and to His Prejudice, *If you are wiſe*, ſaid he, *you will loſe no time but be before-hand with your Rival, and enter Firſt into a Treaty. For my Part*, added he, *you may depend upon all the Aſſiſtance that lies in my Power.* Theſe Words impoſed upon the two Princes, ſo that each of them believing his Companion was be-

traying him, they Both diſpatched away their Ambaſſadors in great haſte to *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* attending Thoſe who were ſent on the one Part, and his Son accompanying the Miniſters of the Other.

As this double Negociation required ſome time to perfect it, *Artaxerxes* began to ſuſpect *Tiribazus*, and his Enemies making uſe of ſo favourable a Conjuncture, did all they could to irritate the King againſt him, ſo that he repented his having confided ſo much in him, and gave Ear to Thoſe who were the moſt forward to calumniate him. In this Nick of time *Tiribazus* returning on one ſide, and his Son on the Other, each bringing his Ambaſſadors with him, and the Peace being concluded, and ſigned on all ſides, He now got into greater Credit and Authority than ever, and ſo marched back with *Artaxerxes*, who made it appear on that Occaſion, (1) that Cowardice and Effeminacy do not neceſſarily ariſe from Luxury, Pomp, and Superfluity, as is generally believed, but are the Effects of a baſe degenerate Nature, miſ-led by erroneous Principles. For notwithſtanding his Jewels of Gold, his Robe of State, and the reſt of his coſtly Attire, worth no leſs than twelve thouſand Talents, with which he was conſtantly clad, his Labours and Toils were no leſs than Thoſe of the meaneſt Perſons in his Army. For with his Quiver flung over his Shoulder, and his Arm braced to his Buckler, he would diſmount upon Occaſion, and lead them in Perſon through

(1) This is an undeniable Truth Luxury, Pomp and Superfluity do not neceſſarily engender Softneſs and Effeminacy, for in that Caſe what Prince is there who would not be ſoft and effeminate? Thoſe Vices flow from a poor, degenerate Principle, and may be ſaid to be born in the Man. But it muſt be allowed that if they do not engender, they do at leaſt feed and ſtrengthen them, and hinder a Soul naturally weak and infirm from gathering Strength. They keep it down when once it is down.

craggy

craggy difficult Paſſes. Inſomuch that the Soldiers charmed with the Patience, Strength and Courage which they ſaw him exert, were animated by his Example, and grew ſo nimble that they ſeemed to have Wings, and marched one day with Another upwards of two hundred Furlongs. At laſt he arrived at one of his own Royal Palaces, where he had Gardens kept in the niceſt order, and a Park of a large Extent; both the Park and the Gardens were extreamly beautiful, and appeared more eſpecially ſo in a Country, which of itſelf was naked, barren and uncultivated. They were then in the Depth of Winter, and the Weather was exceeding cold, wherefore he gave full Commiſſion to his Soldiers to cut down as much Wood as they wanted, without excepting even his Pines and Cypreſs; and when They were at a ſtand, and made a Conſcience of cutting down Trees remarkable for their Size and Beauty, the King Himſelf took an Ax, and began to fell one, which ſeemed to Him to be the talleſt and ſtraighteſt of them All. This made the Soldiers leſs ſcrupulous; they handled their Hatchets, and kindled ſo many Fires as made them paſs the Night very comfortably.

Thus ended this Expedition, wherein the King loſt many galant Soldiers, and almoſt all his Horſes. And as he imagined that This would make him look little in the Eyes of his People, who would deſpiſe him for his ill Succeſs, he grew jealous of the moſt eminent Men in his Court, Some of whom he ſlew in his Rage, and More out of Fear, which is a Paſſion the moſt cruel and bloody of Any in Tyrants, whereas true Courage is gentle, merciful, and void of all Suſpicion. Thus thoſe Brutes which by Nature are moſt fearful and timorous, are hardeſt to be tamed, whereas the Brave and Generous among them placing a Confidence in their

innate Boldneſs and Courage do not ſhun the Kindneſs and Society of Man.

Artaxerxes being now in Years perceived that two of his Sons were contending which ſhould ſucceed him; to which end they were forming Cabals, and making ſeparate Intereſts, by which the whole Court was divided. The moſt prudent and reaſonable among them thought that as *Artaxerxes* had ſucceeded in right of Birth, ſo ought the Succeſſion to devolve upon his eldeſt Son *Darius*. But the Younger, named *Ochus*, a Man of a hot violent Temper, had likewiſe His Party, which was very numerous and conſiderable. He flattered himſelf with the Hopes that his Father would declare for Him by the means of *Atoſſa*, to whom he made all his Court, and promiſed to eſpouſe her, and make her his Partner in the Throne, if ſhe would ſo contrive it that He might ſucceed *Artaxerxes*. Indeed there went a Report that he had already been familiar with her, but it was unknown to his Father, who thinking it prudent to nip his Hopes in the Bud, leſt following the Example of his Uncle *Cyrus* he might involve the State in a civil War after his Deceaſe, he openly declared *Darius* for his Succeſſor, (1) who was then in his fiftieth Year, and permitted him to wear the Point of his *Citaris* or Turban erect, which was the Mark of Royalty.

It is a Cuſtom among the *Perſians* for Him who is declared next Heir to the Crown, to demand of the Prince who has named him for his Succeſſor, ſome Gift or Boon which he is not to refuſe, provided it be in his Power to grant it. *Darius* therefore demanded *Aſpaſia*, of all his Miſtreſſes the beſt

(1) How can That be? *Plutarch* in the following Page calls him νεάνισκον a Youth, a Term by no means ſuitable to a Man of Fifty. Inſtead of πενηκοντον it ought to be read as it is found in a certain Mſ. πέμπτον καὶ εἰκοστον, *in his twenty fifth Year.*

beloved

beloved of *Cyrus*, and at this time one of the King's Concubines. She was by Birth of *Phocæa* a City in *Ionia*, of good Parentage, and (1) of a virtuous, liberal Education. When ſhe was firſt introduced to *Cyrus* it was among other Ladies whilſt he was at Supper. The reſt placed themſelves without Reſerve near to his Perſon, and when he began to talk wantonly to them, to touch them, and behave indecently towards them, they were ſo far from reſenting ſuch Uſage that they ſeemed delighted with it. *Aſpaſia* in the mean time ſtood in a profound Silence, with a Countenance as modeſt as beautiful, at ſame Diſtance from the Table. *Cyrus* invited her in engaging Terms to come nearer, but She refuſed; and when ſome of his Officers who attended in his Chamber went to compel her, ſhe cried aloud, *Whoever has the Inſolence to lay his Hands upon me ſhall ſurely repent it.* This made All who were preſent look on her as a raw ill-bred Creature. But *Cyrus* was charmed with her Behaviour, and told the Perſon who had provided him with thoſe Women, *Of the whole Parcel This Woman only is truly wiſe and virtuous.* From that time forward he attached himſelf to her, loved her above all the reſt, and called her *Aſpaſia the Wiſe.*

When *Cyrus* fell in the Battel ſhe was taken among the other Spoils of the Camp, and delivered to *Artaxerxes*. *Darius* having therefore demanded her of his Father he was much afflicted at it, for thoſe *Barbarians* are exceſſive jealous in their Amours; ſo that it is Death for a Man not only to ſpeak to one of the King's Concubines, or touch

(1) But this Educarion could not long hold our againſt the Allurements of Pomp and Magnificence, againſt which it proved little better than a momentary brittle Defence. It muſt indeed be confeſſed that the Paſs wherein her Virtue was foiled, was a little too ſlippery for one of her Sex and Years.

her, but even to croſs the Road, or come near the Chariots in which they are travelling. And though to gratify his Luſt he had againſt all Law married his Daughter *Atoſſa*, and had beſide Her a Seraglio of three hundred and ſixty the moſt exquiſite Beauties in his Dominions; yet being importuned for that One by *Darius*, he urged *that ſhe was a Free-woman, and allowed him to take her if ſhe had an Inclination to go with him, but by no means to force her away againſt it.* *Aſpaſia* therefore being ſent for, (1) and, contrary to the King's Expectation, making choice of *Darius*, he gave him her indeed, being conſtrained to it by Law; but deprived him of her ſoon after, for he made her a Prieſteſs in the Temple of *Diana*, ſurnamed (2) *Anitis*, at *Ecbatane*, to the end ſhe might ſpend the Remainder of her Days in a ſtrict Chaſtity, thinking thus to puniſh his Son, not with Rigour but Moderation, by a Revenge chequered with Jeſt and Earneſt. But *Darius* was extreamly nettled at this Proceeding, either for that his Love to *Aſpaſia* made him more ſenſible of it, or becauſe he thought it deſigned on purpoſe to inſult and injure him.

Tiribazus perceiving him in this Temper of Mind took Pains to exaſperate him ſtill more, obſerving in the Injuſtice done *Darius* a Repreſentation of what he had received Himſelf. *Artaxerxes* had many Daughters, One of which named *Apama* he had promiſed to *Pharnabazus*, *Rhodogune* to

(1) *Artaxerxes* was a Fool for expecting any thing elſe. This was Woman all over. Who would imagine it! *Aſpaſia* prefers the Son to the Father, the young Galant to the Old one. Thus this Lady, notwithſtanding her virtuous, liberal Education, was by turns at the Service of the Father, the Son, and the Uncle.

(2) *Juſtin* ſaith, he made her a Prieſteſs of the Sun. This *Diana*, called *Anitis* in this Place by *Plutarch*, is named *Anaitis* by *Pauſanias*, who ſaith the *Lydians* have in their Territories the Temple of *Diana Anaitis*, Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναΐτιδος.

Oron-

(1) *Orontes*, and *Ameſtris* to *Tiribazus*. He kept his Word with the two Firſt, but diſappointed *Tiribazus* by marrying *Ameſtris* Himſelf, and promiſing to give him his youngeſt Daughter *Atoſſa*. But here he deceived him too, for he afterwards fell paſſionately in love with *Atoſſa*, and married Her likewiſe, as we have already obſerved.

This Uſage exceedingly provoked *Tiribazus*, and made him conceive an irreconcileable Hatred to *Artaxerxes*, not that he was naturally inclined to Sedition and Revolt, but he was of a wavering, inconſtant, unthinking Temper. Wherefore, being ſometimes advanced to the higheſt Degrees of Honour, and at others degraded to the loweſt Pitch of Infamy, he knew not how to comport himſelf as he ought in either of thoſe States; for when in Favour, his Inſolence and Vanity made him inſupportable, and when in Diſgrace he knew not even then how to humble himſelf as became him, but was more fierce and haughty if poſſible than in the times of his greateſt Proſperity. *Tiribazus* therefore was to the young Prince as Oyl thrown upon a Flame, ever urging him, and ſaying, *That it was a poor Prerogative That of wearing the Point of the* Citaris *exalted and aloft, if He who wore it did not labour to exalt his Intereſt and Affairs likewiſe; that he would find himſelf much miſtaken if he thought himſelf ſecure of the Succeſſion whilſt his Brother was ſtrengthening his Party by the Intereſt he had among the Women, and his Father, who was now in his Dotage, changed every Moment his Sentiments and Intentions:*

(1) This *Orontes* the Son in-law of *Artaxerxes* fell afterwards into Diſgrace, and was ſtripped of all he was worth, whereupon he had this memorable Saying, *That the Favourites of Princes properly reſemble the Fingers of Thoſe, who count or reckon with their Fingers*, for as ſometimes they make them ſtand for a Unite, and ſometimes for Ten thouſand, thus a Favourite is every thing to-day, and to-morrow juſt nothing.

For

For it cannot be expected that He, who for the ſake of a Græcian *Strumpet could violate a Law the moſt ſacred among the* Perſians, *ſhould ever continue faithful in the Performance of the moſt important Promiſes: That the Caſe was quite different betwixt His Pretenſions, and Thoſe of* Ochus; *for as for* Ochus, *no one would hinder Him from living happy in a private Station; but as for* Darius, *who had been declared King, Death or the Throne was the only Alternative.* In ſhort it appeared on this Occaſion that *Socrates* judged rightly when he ſaid,

Ill Counſel ſoon is at its Journey's End.

For the Path which leads us to what we are inclined is ſmooth, and of an eaſy Deſcent; for Man is naturally prone to Folly and Vice, becauſe he is a Stranger to the Lovelineſs of Wiſdom and Virtue. Beſide all This, the large Extent of the *Perſian* Dominions, and the Jealouſy *Darius* had entertained of *Ochus*, furniſhed *Tiribazus* with other Arguments, which he made uſe of to irritate and inflame the diſcontented Prince; but what may be thought to affect him moſt of all were (1) the Inſtigations of the *Cyprian* Goddeſs for the Rape of *Aſpaſia*. Thus *Darius* delivers himſelf up to *Tiribazus*, and enters into a Conſpiracy againſt his Father. The Number of the Conſpirators was very great, and the Hour fixed for the Execution of their Treaſon, when an Eunuch detected their Plot to the King, and all the Meaſures they had been taking; for he had received certain Intelligence that they reſolved to break into his Apartment

(1) He means Love was a ſtronger Incitement than Ambition, or Revenge. This Paſſage is ſo elegant and poetick in the Original, that I am perſuaded *Plutarch* borrowed the Expreſſion from ſome Poet, as he often does imperceptibly to his Readers.

by

by Night, and aſſaſſinate him as he lay in his Bed.

Upon this Diſcovery, *Artaxerxes* thought it would be a great Piece of Madneſs in him to deſpiſe a Danger of ſuch Conſequence and not ſift it to the Bottom, (1) and a greater to give Credit to it without the ſtrongeſt Conviction. To come therefore to the Truth of the Fact he commanded the Eunuch who had made the Diſcovery to herd himſelf with the Conſpirators, and follow them wherever they went; at the ſame time he broke down the Wall of his Chamber, which was behind his Bed, where he made a falſe Door, and covered it with Tapiſtry.

When the Hour named by the Eunuch was approaching he laid himſelf on his Bed, and did not ſtir 'till he had a full Sight of the Faces of the Aſſaſſines, ſo as to diſtinguiſh and know them. As ſoon as he ſaw them drawing their Swords, and making towards the Bed, he drew back the Tapiſtry, and made his Retreat into an inner Chamber, where he bolted the Door, and alarmed the Court. The Ruffians ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, and their Deſign defeated, took to their Heels, and exhorted *Tiribazus* to do the ſame becauſe He was ſo near that he muſt certainly be diſcovered.

They all ſeparated, and each of them provided for Himſelf, but *Tiribazus* was ſurpriſed, by the Guards. He defended himſelf for ſome time with great Courage, and ſlew many of Thoſe who were ſent to ſeize him, 'till at laſt he was wounded by a Javelin, which was lanced at a Diſtance, for none of them had Courage enough to

(1) This is a prudent Maxim, and ought to be held inviolably by Princes. It is a great Piece of Imprudence to neglect the Information of a Conſpiracy, but ſtill a greater to give Credit to it without Proofs the moſt ſtrong and convincing, and to run into Extremities upon what may poſſibly prove a falſe Information.

come

come near him, and ſo he fell. *Darius* was likewiſe taken in his Flight, and made a Priſoner with his Children. The King appointed ſome Lords of his Council to be his Judges, and choſe not to aſſiſt at the Tryal in Perſon, nor appear to accuſe him, but appointed Others to proſecute and form the Charge againſt him; at the ſame time he commanded his Notaries to write down the Opinion of every one of the Judges ſingly, and bring them All to Him. They having All of them agreed in their Verdict the Officers removed him to an adjacent Priſon, and ſent for the Executioner to do his Office. As ſoon as he was entered with the Razor uſed in beheading capital Offenders, and beheld *Darius*, he recoiled to the Door, and turned his Back, as having neither Strength nor Courage enough to lay violent Hands upon his Sovereign. But the Judges who were attending without, threatned Him with Death if he did not put the Sentence in Execution immediately. Being terrified with this Menace he re-entered, and ſeizing the Prince by the Hair he flung him on the Ground and performed his Office. Some write that *Darius* was tried in the King's Preſence, and that as ſoon as he was convicted by undeniable Evidence, he fell proſtrate on the Ground, and moſt earneſtly implored the King's Pardon; That the King in great Fury drew his Cimetar, with which he wounded him in many Places and killed him upon the Spot, and that after the Performance of ſo horrid an Execution he returned to his Palace, where he worſhipped the Sun, and ſaid to Thoſe who had attended him, *Return in Triumph, O ye* Perſians, *every Man to his own Houſe, and let it be publiſhed abroad among your Fellow-Subjects* (1) *that*

(1) Beſides the Sun, which the *Perſians* adored as a God, they acknowledged two other Deities, One of which called *Oromazes* was the Author of Good, and the Other named *Arimanius* the Author of Evil.

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the great Oromazes *has puniſhed Thoſe who had contrived the moſt unheard, and impious of Treaſons.* This was the Event of that Conſpiracy.

Ochus was now grown big with Expectation, and promiſed himſelf much from the Intereſt he had in *Atoſſa*. Notwithſtanding This he was jealous of his Brother *Ariaſpes*, who was the only Male ſurviving beſides Himſelf of the Legitimate Offspring of *Artaxerxes*, and of his Baſtard Brethren he ſtood much in fear of *Arſames*. *Ariaſpes* was not ſo much feared becauſe he was elder than *Ochus*, but being a Prince of a meek, gentle, and benevolent Temper, all the *Perſians* had their Eyes upon Him. As for *Arſames*, He was a Perſon of great Judgment and Underſtanding, and *Ochus* was not inſenſible that He was the Favourite of his Father. He therefore laid his Snares againſt them Both, and being no leſs treacherous than bloody, he made uſe of the Cruelty of his Nature againſt *Arſames*, and of his Craft and Wilineſs againſt *Ariaſpes*. For he ſuborned the King's Eunuchs and Favourites to convey to him menacing and harſh Expreſſions from his Father, as though he had decreed to put him to a cruel and ignominious Death. When they ſeemed daily to communicate theſe things as Secrets, and ſaid one while the King would do This to him e'er long, at another, ſomething elſe within a few Moments, they ſo aſtoniſhed the good Prince, and caſt ſuch a Confuſion and Anxiety upon his Thoughts, that having prepared ſome fatal Drugs he drank them, that he might be delivered from his hated Life. The King knowing what kind of Death he died, heartily lamented him, and gave a ſhrewd Gueſs at the Cauſe of it. But being diſabled by his Age to ſearch into and prove it, he was after the Loſs of his Son more indulgent to *Arſames*, manifeſtly placed his greateſt Confidence in Him, and made him privy to all

his Deſigns. Whereupon *Ochus* had no longer Patience to defer the Execution of his Purpoſe, but having procured *Arſaces*, *Tiribazus*'s Son, for the Undertaking, he killed *Arſames* by His Hand. *Artaxerxes* at that time had but a little while to live, by reaſon of his very old Age; ſo that when he heard of the Fate of *Arſames*, (1) he could not bear up under the Affliction, but being oppreſſed with the Load of his Grief expired, after he had lived ninety four Years, and reigned Sixty too. He had the Character of a good and gracious Prince, but what contributed moſt to that Character was the Compariſon betwixt Him and his Son *Ochus*, who out-did all his Predeceſſors in Blood and Cruelty.

(1) He did not dye of the Grief he conceived for the Death of *Ariaſpes* the laſt Survivor of his legitimate Sons, but died of Grief for the Death of *Arſames*, who was illegitimate. We are not to imagine that this laſt Affliction was the only and immediate Cauſe of his Death. It was indeed the laſt ſtroke, which finiſhed what had been begun, forwarded, and almoſt compleated by many Others that had preceded it.

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THE LIFE OF ARATUS.

THE Philoſopher *Chryſippus*, O *Polycrates*, quotes an antient Proverb, (1) not as really it ſhould be, but ſo as he thought it ought to be, in theſe Words,

Who Fathers praiſe, except their generous Sons?

But *Dionyſodorus* the *Trœzenian* correcting him, reſtores the true one, which is thus,

(1) When *Chryſippus* inverted the Proverb it was not for want of knowing the Senſe it had before been received in, or for want of perceiving the Scope and Truth of it, but he did it with a deſign to accommodate it to another Meaning equally true and uſeful. he meant by it that virtuous Children are the Glory of their Parents; for generally ſpeaking the Child's Virtue ſprings from his Father's, which is the Root, or Fountain, and is nouriſhed and improved by a good Education. As virtuous Parents are the Glory of their Children, ſo are virtuous Children of their Parents. It is a *wiſe Son* who *heareth his Father's Inſtructions*, ſaith *Solomon*, cap. xiii. v. 1.

(1) *Who Fathers praiſe, except degenerate Sons?*

Telling us, that this Proverb was made to ſtop the Mouth of Thoſe, who having no Merit of their own, deck themſelves with the Virtues of their Anceſtors, and are puffed up with their Praiſes. But,

They who happily inherit
Their brave Forefathers noble Spirit,

to make uſe of *Pindar*'s Words, like You, who copy after the bright Originals left you by your Anceſtors, may take great Satisfaction in often hearing and ſpeaking of the beſt of their Progenitors; for they aſſume not the Glory of other Mens Praiſes for want of Worth of their Own, but uniting Both in One, celebrate them, as the Authors both of their Deſcent and Manners; wherefore I have ſent unto you the Life of your Fellow-Citizen and Progenitor *Aratus*, whom you come no way ſhort of either in Eſteem or Power. I do not ſend it upon an Imagination that you have not your ſelf been moſt diligently careful to be informed better than Any of all his Actions, but that your Sons *Polycrates* and *Pythocles* may be bred up by Domeſtick Examples, by hearing and reading ſuch things as are fit for their Imitation. (2) For it is a

(1) For They only who have no good Qualities of their Own to recommend them are always preaching up the Virtues of their Anceſtors, and the Antiquity of their Families, as if They were to be honoured and eſteemed for Virtues to which they are perfect Strangers.

(2) This is a ſure Maxim. Nothing but Self-love can raiſe in us ſo high an Opinion of Our ſelves. Whereas true Virtue, and Modeſty, which lead us to admire thoſe Excellencies in Others, diſcover to us our own Imperfections, and put us upon correcting and reforming them. They who are true Lovers of Goodneſs and Virtue, look on thoſe Qualities in Others with infinite more Pleaſure than they do on the Paintings of the moſt excellent Maſters.

piece

piece of Self-conceit, not noble Emulation, to think ones ſelf already arrived at the higheſt pitch of Improvement.

The City of *Sicyon*, from the time that it firſt fell off from a (1) downright *Dorick Ariſtocracy*, (its Harmony being thereby quite confounded in the Seditions and Conteſts of the *Demagogues*) continued to be diſtempered and unſettled, changing from one Tyrant to another, 'till *Cleon* being ſlain, *Timoclidas* and *Clinias*, Men of the moſt Repute and Power amongſt the Citizens, were choſen Governors. Under their Adminiſtration the Conſtitution began to reaſſume its antient Form and Vigour, in which it continued 'till the Death of *Timoclidas*.

Abantidas the Son of *Paſeas* thinking This a proper Opportunity to ſeize on the Tyranny killed *Clinias*, and of his Friends and Relations ſlew Some, and baniſhed Others. The Tyrant would likewiſe have murdered *Aratus* the Son of *Clinias*, who was then but ſeven Years of Age, if he could have found him. But during the Trouble and Confuſion the Family was in upon the Death of his Father, the Child ſtole out in Company with Thoſe who fled, and wandring about the City helpleſs and in great fear, by chance got undiſcovered into the Houſe of a Woman named *Soſo*. She was the Siſter of *Abantidas*, but had been married to *Prophantus*, the Brother of *Clinias*. She being of a generous Temper, and believing the Boy had by

(1) This is a Figure borrowed from the different Modes or Meaſures obſerved in the Compoſitions of the *Gracian* Muſick, among which the *Dorick* had the Preference, being eſteemed the moſt perfect, inſomuch that *Plato* ſaith ſomewhere in his Works that the *Dorick* Tone only deſerved the Name of *Gracian* Harmony. This has been mentioned in ſome former Remark. When *Plutarch* calls the *Ariſtocracy* in this Place *downright Dorick*, he has a particular regard to the City of *Sicyon*, which was of *Dorick* Extraction.

ſome ſpecial Providence fled to Her for Shelter, hid him in the Houſe, and at Night conveyed him away ſecretly to *Argos*. *Aratus* thus delivered, and ſecured from ſo imminent a Danger, immediately conceived, and ever after nouriſhed a vehement and fervent Hatred againſt Tyrants. He was educated by the Care, and at the Expence, of his Father's Friends and Acquaintance: And being of a ſtrong robuſt Conſtitution and Stature, he addicted himſelf to the Exerciſes of the *Palæſtra*, wherein he excelled to that degree, that he contended in the publick Games, and came off Conqueror; and indeed in his Statues one may obſerve a certain kind of *Athletick* caſt, and in the Gravity and Majeſty of his Countenance may be perceived (1) a keen Appetite, and the Champion's Mattock. From hence it came to paſs (2) that he ſtudied Eloquence leſs than perhaps became a Man bred up to the Adminiſtration of Civil Affairs; and yet that he was more Polite in ſpeaking than Many do believe, Some collect from thoſe *Commentaries* which he hath left, tho' penned careleſly and *extempore*, and in ſuch Words as firſt came to his Mind. Some time after this, *Dinias* and *Ariſtotle* the Logician killed *Abantidas*,

(1) For the Champions were great Feeders, and the Mattock was one of the Inſtruments they made uſe of in their Exerciſes, with which they broke up the Ground, on purpoſe to confirm and encreaſe their Strength by ſuch intenſe Labour. *Theocritus* has expreſſed in one Verſe in his fourth *Idyllium* both the Mattock, and Voracity of theſe *Athleticks*.

Κώχεθ' ἔχων σκαπάναν τε καὶ ἕκατι τετόθι μᾶλα.

He is gone with his Mattock, and twenty Sheep.

(2) For too intenſe an Application to the Exerciſes of the Body is an Enemy to the Operations of the Mind; and ſo on the other hand, He who is over-curious in the Cultivation of his Mind neglects That of his Body. One may ſee This Truth ſet in a clear Light by *Plato* in his Dialogue called *the Rivals*. The Medium to be obſerved in this Caſe is to give a moderate Exerciſe both to the One, and the Other, allowing ſomething more of it to the Mind than to the Body.

who

who uſed to be preſent in the publick Hall at their Diſputes, and to make One in them, they having inſenſibly accuſtomed him to this Practice, and ſo had at laſt an opportunity to lay an Ambuſh for him. After Him *Paſeas* the Father of *Abantidas* taking upon him the Government was ſlain by the Treachery of *Nicocles*, who Himſelf ſet up for Tyrant. It is reported that he was extreamly like to *Periander* the Son of *Cypſelus*, as it is ſaid *Orontes* the *Perſian* did much reſemble *Alcmæon* the Son of *Amphiaraus*; and a *Lacedæmonian* Youth, the renowned *Hector*; and *Myrſilus* tells us the Youth was trod to Pieces by the Crowd of Thoſe who came to ſee him upon that Report.

When *Nicocles* had governed about four Months, during which time he exceedingly plagued his City, he was upon the Point of being diſpoſſeſſed by a Stratagem of the *Ætolians*. *Aratus* was by this time growing towards a Man, and was already highly eſteemed both on Account of his Birth, and Diſpoſition, wherein nothing mean or unactive appeared, but a Gravity and Sedateneſs uncommon in one of his Age, accompanied with a great deal of Spirit, and a ſteddy Judgment. Theſe Qualities, which could not be concealed, made the Exiles of *Sicyon* fix their Eyes upon Him as their Sheet-Anchor, and *Nicocles* had his Spies about him, who watched him narrowly, and obſerved all his Motions. Not that he was Apprehenſive of any Action ſo bold, any Enterpriſe ſo hazardous as That he undertook; he only ſuſpected him of carrying on a Correſpondence with the Kings who had been his Father's Friends and Acquaintance. And indeed *Aratus* firſt attempted this Way: But finding that *Antigonus*, who had promiſed fair, neglected him and delayed the Time, and that his Hopes from *Ægypt* and *Ptolemy* were

too remote, he determined to cut off the Tyrant by himſelf, without any foreign Aſſiſtance.

The Firſt to whom he communicated his Deſign were *Ariſtomachus* and *Ecdelus*, *Ariſtomachus* an Exile of *Sicyon*, and *Ecdelus* an *Arcadian* baniſhed from *Megalopolis*, a Perſon paſſionately addicted to Philoſophy, but to that Philoſophy which prompts to Action, for he had ſtudied at *Athens* under the Direction of *Archeſilaus* the Academick. Theſe readily conſenting, he communicated himſelf to the other Exiles, whereof ſome few being aſhamed to ſeem to deſpair of Succeſs, ingaged in the Deſign, but moſt of them endeavoured to divert him from his Purpoſe, telling him, that his want of Experience and Inſight into Affairs made him engage in ſo deſperate an Undertaking, without the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs.

Whilſt he was deliberating on the propereſt Means for ſecuring ſome Poſt in the Territory of *Sicyon*, which he might make as it were a Place of Arms, and from thence war upon the Tyrant, a certain *Sicyonian*, juſt eſcaped out of Priſon, arrived at *Argos*. This Man was the Brother of *Xenocles*, one of the Exiles, who carried him immediately to *Aratus*, to whom he gave a brief Account of his Adventures, and told him farther that that Part of the Wall over which he had made his Eſcape was almoſt level with the Ground on the Inſide adjoining to a rocky elevated Quarter of the City, and that on the Outſide the Wall was not ſo high but it might eaſily be ſcaled. Upon this Report *Aratus* diſpatched away *Xenocles*, with two of his Servants *Seuthas* and *Technon* to view the Wall, reſolving, if he could do it ſecretly and with one Riſque, to hazard All at a Puſh, rather than as a private Perſon oppoſe the Tyrant by a long War and open Force.

Xenocles

Xenocles and his two Companions having taken the Height of the Wall, returned, and reported that the Place was in it ſelf neither inacceſſible, nor even difficult, but that the Approach to it was dangerous, and would be diſcovered by a Parcel of Dogs belonging to a Gardener hard by, which were ſmall indeed, but very fierce and noiſy. *Aratus* that Moment reſolved upon the Enterprize. It was an eaſy Matter for them to provide themſelves with Arms, without giving the leaſt Umbrage or Jealouſy, becauſe of the frequent Robberies that were committed, and the Incurſions made by one State upon Another, which obliged every one to go armed for his own Security. The Ladders were prepared by *Euphranor* one of the Exiles, who was a Carpenter by Trade, and might work at it without Suſpicion. He raiſed his Men among his Friends at *Argos*, of whom They who had the feweſt to ſpare ſupplied him with Ten a-piece, to whom he added Thirty of his own Domeſticks. Beſides Theſe he hired a ſmall Party of *Xenophilus*, chief Captain of the *Banditti*, to whom it was given out, that they were to march into the Territories of *Sicyon* to ſeize the King's Stud, and many of them were ſent before by different Ways to the Tower of *Polygnotus*, with Orders to wait there for his Arrival. *Capheſias* likewiſe was ſent before with four of his Companions, who were to get as far as the Gardener's Houſe by that time it was dark, and paſs themſelves upon him for Travellers, who were benighted, and ſo getting a Lodging in his Houſe, under that Pretence they were to confine both Him and his Dogs, for there was no other Way to that part of the Wall; and as for the Ladders, which were made to take in Pieces, they were packed up in Cheſts, and ſent before in Waggons prepared for that Purpoſe.

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In the mean time ſome of the Tyrant's Spies arrived at *Argos*, and it being buzzed about that they were ſent to dog *Aratus*, He appeared early the next Morning upon the Exchange, where he converſed with his Friends, then he went to the *Gymnaſium*, where he performed his Exercíſes, and anointed himſelf, and taking with him ſeveral young Gentlemen who were his Bottle-Companions, he returned home. A few Moments after This his Servants were ſeen in the Market-place, Some carrying Garlands, Some buying Flambeaus, and Others diſcourſing with the Singing-Women, who uſed to ſing and play to him whilſt he was at Dinner. When all theſe Things were obſerved by the Spies who were ſent to watch him they were deceived, and ſaid laughing One to Another, *It is very plain that nothing can be more timorous than a Tyrant; ſince even* Nicocles, *who is Maſter of ſo large a City, a Man of ſuch Power and Authority, cannot forbear ſtanding in Fear of a Youth who waſtes the poor Pittance he has to ſubſiſt on in his Exile in Wantonneſs, and Day-Debauches*; and thus deluding themſelves with this falſe way of reaſoning they returned home.

But *Aratus* as ſoon as Dinner was over ſet out from *Argos*, and haſtened to join the Soldiers, who waited for him at *Polygnotus*. As ſoon as they were joined he led them to *Nemea*, where he diſcovered to them his true Deſign. He began with Exhortations, and many fair Promiſes, and when he had given the Word, which was *propitious Apollo*, he led them ſtrait to *Sicyon*, proportioning his March to the Motion of the Moon, ſo as to have the Benefit of her Light upon the Way, and to be at the Gardener's Houſe, which was cloſe to the Wall, juſt as ſhe was ſet. Here *Capheſias* came up to him and told him he could not ſecure the Dogs becauſe they had been let out before his Arrival, but

but that he had made ſure of the Gardener. This put moſt of the Company out of Heart, ſo that they preſſed him to give over his Enterprize, and return; but He continued to encourage them, and at the ſame time promiſed that in caſe the Dogs grew troubleſome he would retire. He cauſed Thoſe who carried the Ladders to march in the Front, under the Conduct of *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus*, whilſt He followed gently with the reſt in the Rear. The Dogs began to bark very loud, baying at *Ecdelus*, and his Companions; notwithſtanding which they got ſafe to the Wall, and planted their Ladders. But as the foremoſt Men were mounting, the Captain of the Watch that was to be relieved by the Morning-Guard, paſſed by that way at the Sound of a little Bell, with many Torches, and a great deal of Noiſe; whereupon they clapt themſelves cloſe to the Ladders, and ſo were unobſerved, but the other Watch coming to relieve the former they were in extream Danger of being diſcovered. But having eſcaped That alſo, immediately *Mnaſitheus* and *Ecdelus* got upon the Wall, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the Paſſages on each ſide, they ſent away *Technon* to *Aratus*, deſiring him to make all the haſte he could. Now there was no great Diſtance from the Garden to the Wall, and a certain Tower in which a great Grey-hound was placed to keep Watch: Yet he heard them not as they marched forward, whether it was becauſe he was naturally drowſy, or for that he had been over-wearied the day before, but the Gardener's Curs yelping below awakened him. He firſt anſwered them with a ſort of Growl, which was little obſerved; but when he heard the Exiles marching near the Tower he then opened and barked ſo loud that the Centinel called out to the Dog-keeper, and asked him, *what it was made his Dog bark at that rate, and if any thing extraordinary had*

had happened to occaſion it? The Dog-Keeper replied, *there was nothing worth Notice; that only the Light of the Torches belonging to the Guard, and the Noiſe of the Bell, had ſet him a barking.* This Reply much encouraged *Aratus*'s Soldiers, who thought the Dog-keeper was privy to their Deſign, and therefore concealed what was paſſing; and that many Others in the City were of the Conſpiracy. But when they came to ſcale the Wall, the Attempt then appeared both to require Time, and to be full of Danger, for the Ladders ſhook and bent extreamly if they mounted them not leiſurely, and one by one, and Time preſſed, for the Cocks began to crow, and the Country-people that uſed to keep the Market were upon the Road to Town. Wherefore *Aratus* haſted to get up Himſelf, forty only of the Company being already upon the Wall, and ſtaying but for a few more of Thoſe who were below, he made ſtrait to the Tyrant's Palace, and the main Guard where his mercenary Soldiers kept Watch; and coming ſuddenly upon them, and taking them Priſoners without killing any one of them, he immediately ſent to all his Friends, deſiring them to quit their Houſes, and join Him, which they did from all Quarters. By this time the Day began to break, and the Theatre was full of the Multitude that were held in Suſpence by uncertain Reports, and knew nothing diſtinctly of what had happened, untill a publick Crier advancing forward proclaimed aloud, *that* Aratus *the Son of* Clinias *invited the Citizens to recover their Liberty*; then believing that what they had ſo long wiſhed for was now come to paſs, they preſſed in Throngs to the Tyrant's Palace to ſet it on Fire, and ſo great was the Flame, that it was ſeen as far as *Corinth*; ſo that the *Corinthians* wondering what the Matter ſhould be, were upon the Point to have come to their Aſſiſtance.

Aſſiſtance. *Nicocles* fled away ſecretly by means of certain ſubterraneous Paſſages, and the Soldiers helping the *Sicyonians* to quench the Fire plundered the Palace. This *Aratus* hindered not, but divided alſo the reſt of the Tyrant's Wealth amongſt the Citizens. In this Exploit not one of thoſe engaged in it was ſlain, nor any of the contrary Party, Fortune ſo ordering the Action as to be clear and free from Civil Blood-ſhed.

Aratus reſtored all the Exiles, not only Thoſe who had been baniſhed by *Nicocles*, who were fourſcore in Number; but likewiſe Thoſe who had been expelled by the former Tyrants, no fewer than five hundred, who had, ſome of them, led a wandering vagabond Life in foreign Parts for the Space of fifty Years. Theſe poor Wretches returning home in a miſerable indigent Condition were impatient to enter upon their former Poſſeſſions, and recover their ſeveral Country Farms and Houſes, which was the Occaſion of great Perplexity to *Aratus*. For he ſaw that from abroad *Antigonus* caſt an envious Eye upon the City, and endeavoured to get it into his Poſſeſſion ever ſince it had been reſtored to its Liberty, and (1) at home it was full of Diſorder and Sedition; wherefore as things ſtood, (2) he thought it beſt to aſſociate it to the *Achæan* Community; for being *Dorians*, they willingly took upon them the Name and Polity of the *Achæans*, who at that time had no great

(1) For the Exiles immediately upon their Return were for getting into Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates and Houſes, which was highly Stomached by Thoſe who had been ſo long in Poſſeſſion. All This gave the greater Uneaſineſs to *Aratus*, becauſe he knew *Antigonus* lay upon the Watch, and it was to be feared, that They who were diſpoſſeſſed for the ſake of the Exiles, would invite Him into the City, and join with him.

(2) It was indeed the beſt thing he could do, for there were no other means of preſerving the City at once from the Ambition of *Antigonus*, and the Diſorders ariſing from the Diſſention of the Inhabitants.

Power

Power or Authority. For moſt of them lived in ſmall Towns, and their Territory was neither large nor fruitful, and the neighbouring Sea was without Ports, entring the Land for the moſt part in rocky Creeks. (1) And yet even Theſe made it evidently appear that the *Græcian* Force was invincible, whenſoever it met with Order and Concord within its ſelf, and a General of Wiſdom and Experience.

In Fact, theſe very *Achæans*, who made up but a moſt inconſiderable Part of the ancient *Græcian* Power, whoſe whole Strength was hardly equal to That of an ordinary City, yet by Prudence and Unanimity, and becauſe they knew how not to (2) envy and malign but to obey and follow Him amongſt them, who was moſt eminent for Virtue, they not only preſerved their own Liberty in the midſt of ſo many great and powerful Cities and Dominions, and in ſpite of ſo many Tyrants, but delivered the greateſt Part of *Greece* from Slavery.

(3) As for *Aratus*, he was in his Behaviour exceedingly

(1) This Paſſage contains a very important Precept. Order. Union, and good Diſcipline render even the ſmalleſt Bodies invincible. Whereas Diviſion, and Diſcord, enervate the moſt Powerful, and render them a Prey to their Enemies. This is what *Homer* has endeavoured to inculcate in the Fable of the *Iliad*. Order, and Diſcipline will not do alone: without Union All will run to Ruin.

(2) Diſorder, bad Diſcipline, and Diviſions are not the only fatal and deſtructive Evils in States, or Communities, there is ſtill Another equally pernicious, and That is Envy, which is commonly raiſed againſt good Men, when placed at the Head of Affairs. Envy is always factious, incites the Subject to Diſobedience, prompts him to break in upon the wiſeſt Meaſures, and undermine the beſt-concerted Deſigns. Whenever She prevails, the Ruin of that State is inevitable. Hiſtory and Experience furniſh us with a thouſand Examples of this great Truth, among which if we pleaſe we may meet with ſome domeſtick Inſtances.

(3) This Character of *Aratus* in *Plutrach* agrees exactly with That we find of him in the fourth Book of *Polybius*, which may not be unacceptable to the Reader. *Aratus was a Perſon exceedingly well qualified to be at the Head of Affairs, for*

ceedingly well-bred and polite, open, generous, more intent upon the publick than his private Concerns, a bitter Hater of Tyrants, making the common Good the Meaſure of his Friendſhips and Enmities, ſo that he ſeemed not to have been ſo true a Friend, as a courteous and gentle Enemy, ſuiting himſelf to all opportunities for the ſake of the Commonwealth.

In a Word, all Nations and Communities, Senates, Theatres, they All with one Voice proclaimed that *Aratus* loved, and ſought after nothing but what was juſt and honeſt; that as to open Wars, and pitcht Battels, he was indeed in that reſpect diffident and fearful, but in the Execution of any ſecret Deſign, and concealing it from the Enemy, in ſurprizing of Towns, and dethroning of Tyrants, he was the moſt Enterprizing and Crafty.

Hence it was that after he had ſucceeded in many difficult Enterprizes, contrary to all Probability of Succeſs, and had exerted the higheſt Courage and Bravery in the Execution, yet he left many Others

for he thought wiſely, and ſpoke properly, and no man knew better how to conceal what he had once reſolved upon. He bore with great temper, the Heats, and Flights, that uſually ariſe in Debates, and had a peculiar Talent in gaining Friends, and forming Alliances. He was very dexterous in his Enterprizes upon the Enemy, in laying his Deſigns warily, and executing them ſucceſsfully, which was owing to his great Patience, and Audacity. This is manifeſted by a thouſand of his Actions, &c. *And yet this very* Aratus, *whenever any thing was to be performed openly, and above board was ſlow in coming to a Reſolution, and diffident in the Execution of it. He was intimidated in the Preſence of the Enemy, and terrified at the Appearance of Danger. Hence it was that all* Peloponneſus *abounded with Trophies of his Defeats, and that in the Field he was eaſily vanquiſhed. Thus Nature has infuſed different and contrary Qualities, not only into the Bodies of Men, but more eſpecially into their Minds. Inſomuch that the ſame Man ceaſeth to be the Same, not only in different Operations, but even in the very ſame, in Thoſe to which he ſeems happily diſpoſed by Nature. For ſometimes he is very alert and fertil in Invention, at Others as heavy and flegmatick; to-day bold and enterprizing, to-morrow a downright Coward and Poltroon.* This Deſcription may ſerve as a Comment upon *Plutarch.*

unattempted

unattempted, no leſs conſiderable, and much more feaſible than the Former, which was owing to his Over-Caution and Timidity. For as among Animals there are ſome who ſee very clearly by Night, and are blind in the Day-time, the Dryneſs and Subtlety of the aqueous Humours not ſuffering them to bear the Light; ſo amongſt Men the moſt hardy and courageous, we meet with Some who ſhrink and grow fearful in Dangers which are to be encountered openly and in publick View, and who on the contrary ſhew a wonderful Boldneſs and Reſolution in ſecret and covert Enterprizes. (1) This Inequality is occaſioned in noble Minds for want of Philoſophy, (2) whence is produced a certain wild and uncultivated Virtue without true Knowledge, as may be made out by many Examples.

Aratus therefore having aſſociated himſelf and his City to the *Achæans*, ſerved in the Cavalry, and was much beloved by his Officers for his exact Obedience; for though he had made ſo large an Addition to the Community, as That of his own Credit, and the Power of his Country, yet he was as ready to be commanded by any of the *Achæan* Generals, whe-

(1) *Plutrach* omits no Occaſion of making it appear that our Faults and Defects proceed from our Ignorance, when Reaſon is not enlightned by Philoſophy, which is moſt certain. Philoſophy teacheth us to know the Nature of Things, and a Mind well-inſtructed acts in Conformity to thoſe Truths of which it has received Conviction. Of This we have an Example before us; Philoſophy tells us what is really terrible, and what is not ſo. Now if *Aratus* had been let into that Knowledge, he would not have been bold by Night, and cowardly in the Day-time, but his Courage would have been fixed, and uniform.

(2) This Paſſage in *Plutarch* may ſerve to decide a famous Queſtion often debated, Which are preferable, Natural Parts or Thoſe acquired by Study? The Productions of Nature unaſſiſted by Erudition are wild and ſavage, but when meliorated by Science they then bloom in their utmoſt Beauty and Perfection.

ther

ther of (1) *Dyma* or *Trita*, or though of never ſo mean a City, as the moſt common Soldier. When the King of *Ægypt* ſent him a Preſent of five and twenty Talents, he received it, but diſtributed all among his needy Fellow-Citizens, Part of it being applyed to relieve their Neceſſities, and the Remainder to redeem the Priſoners. But the Exiles being by no means to be ſatisfyed, diſturbing continually Thoſe who were in Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, the City was in great danger of falling into civil Diſſentions. Having therefore no hope left him, but from the Kindneſs of *Ptolemy*, he reſolved to ſail thither, and to beg ſo much Money of the King as would ſatisfie all Parties. So he ſet ſail from *Methone* above the Foreland of *Malea*, as deſigning to paſs through the Channel there. But the Pilot not being able to keep the Veſſel up againſt the ſtrong Wind and high Seas, he was turned from his Courſe, and with much ado got to *Adria*, an Enemy's Town; for it was poſſeſſed by *Antigonus*, who had a Garriſon in it. To avoid falling into their Hands he immediately landed, and leaving the Ship went up into the Country a good way from the Sea, having along with him only one Friend called *Timanthes*, ſo hiding themſelves in a certain woody place, they had but an ill Night's Reſt of it. He was ſcarce got out of the Ship before the Governour came, and inquired for *Aratus*; but he was deceived by his Servants, who had been inſtructed to ſay their Maſter was juſt Sailed, and that he ſhaped his Courſe for the Iſland of *Eubæa*; wherefore he declared the Ship, the Cargo and Servants to be lawful Prize, and detained them accordingly. As for *Aratus*, he being after ſome Days reduced to Extremity, by good for-

(1) Two of the moſt inconſiderable Towns in all *Achaia*. This is not added without good reaſon; for it is not an eaſy thing for Men to ſuffer themſelves to be commanded by Officers ſent from obſcure Communities.

tune a *Roman* Ship happened to put in juſt in the Place where he ſkulked, ſometimes peeping out to diſcover the Coaſt, ſometimes keeping cloſe. This Ship was bound for *Syria*, and *Aratus* agreed with the Maſter to land him in *Caria*. In this Voyage he ran as great Risks, and eſcaped as narrowly as he had done in the former.

He was a long time in paſſing from *Caria* into *Ægypt*, where when he was arrived he was immediately admitted to Audience, and found the King very favourably diſpoſed to him, becauſe he uſed to make his Court to him by ſending him Paintings and Drawings out of *Greece*. For *Aratus*, who had a fine Taſte and Judgment in ſuch Curioſities, made many valuable Collections of Pieces done by the beſt Maſters, (1) eſpecially by *Pamphilius* and *Melanthus*, and ſent them to *Ptolemy*.

For the *Sicyonian* Pieces were even then in great Eſteem, as being the only Paintings whoſe Colours were laſting, ſo that *Apelles* Himſelf, that great Maſter, ſo much admired for his Pencil, went to *Sicyon*, and gave them a Talent to be admitted into their School, not ſo much to learn of them, as to be a Sharer with them in their Reputation. For this Reaſon, *Aratus*, as ſoon as he had reſtored the City to her Liberty, deſtroyed all the other Portraitures of the Tyrants, but when he came to That of *Ariſtratus* who flouriſhed in the days of *Philip*, he was in a doubt for a conſiderable time, for it was the joint Performance of all the Scholars of *Melanthus*, who had drawn him ſtanding in a Chariot of Victory, and *Apelles* himſelf had a Hand in it, as we are told by *Polemon* the Geographer.

(1) Two of the moſt celebrated of all the Painters. *Pamphilus* had been brought up under *Eumolpus*, and was the Maſter of *Apelles* and *Melanthus*. The moſt valuable of his Pieces were *a Fraternity, the Victory of the* Athenians, *and* Ulyſſes *in his Cockboat*. The Paintings of *Melanthus* were invaluable. *Plin. lib.* vii. *c.* vii.

This

This Piece was ſo perfect in its kind that *Aratus* could not forbear being touched with it, but being on a ſudden tranſported with his implacable Averſion to Tyrants, he commanded it to be deſtroyed. (1) It is ſaid that *Nealces* the Painter, a Friend of His, happening to be preſent when that Order was given, intreated him with Tears in his Eyes to ſpare that Picture, and finding him inflexible, *Aratus*, ſaid he, *We will allow you to be continually at War againſt the Tyrants Themſelves, but never with their Pictures. At leaſt ſpare the Chariot, and the Victory, and you ſhall ſoon ſee* Ariſtratus *vaniſh out of the Piece. Aratus* conſenting to it, *Nealces* effaced the Figure of *Ariſtratus*, and painted a Palm-tree in its ſtead, without preſuming to add any thing elſe of his own Invention. But it is ſaid the Feet of *Ariſtratus* remained untouched at the Bottom of the Chariot.

This Taſte for Painting had already recommended *Aratus* to *Ptolemy*, but after he had made himſelf better known to him by his Converſation, the King was exceedingly taken with him, and preſented him with a hundred and fifty Talents, for the Relief of his City. Of Theſe *Aratus* took Forty with him, when he returned to *Peloponneſus*; the King divided the Remainder into ſeveral Portions, and conſigned them to him by ſo many different Payments. This was a great and glorious Action in *Aratus*, to procure in this manner ſo conſiderable a Sum for the Benefit of his Fellow-Citizens, whereas there was nothing more common in thoſe days than to ſee Commanders, Governors, and Demagogues, for

(1) This *Nealces* was a Painter of great Reputation, eſpecially for a *Venus*, which was much admired, and wherein he ſhewed an excellent Taſte as well as Judgment. He painted likewiſe the naval Fight of the *Ægyptians* againſt the *Perſians*, and to ſhew that the Action was on the *Nile*, the Water where of is in Colour like That of the Sea, he ſupplyed That by a Symbol, which was not within the Compaſs of his Art to delineate, he drew an Aſs watering on the Shore, and a Crocodile near him upon the Watch, and ready to faſten upon him. *Plin. lib.* xxxv. *c.* xi.

much ſmaller Sums ſell and betray to the Kings their Cities and Communities. But That which was ſtill greater, and far more conſiderable, was that by means of this Money he effected a Reconciliation between the Rich and the Poor, compoſed all their Differences, and eſtabliſhed a perfect Harmony among the People.

He was ſtill more illuſtrious for his Moderation, in the Exerciſe of that great Power and Authority to which he was advanced, for being declared ſole Arbitrator and Plenipotentiary for compoſing the Differences of the Exiles, he would not accept the Commiſſion alone, but aſſociating fifteen of the Citizens to him, He with great Pains and Trouble adjuſted Matters, and ſettled Peace and Friendſhip in the City; for which good Service not only all the Citizens in general beſtowed extraordinary Honours upon him, but the Exiles, apart by themſelves, erected his Statue in Braſs, bearing the following Inſcription.

Greece, *freed from foreign and domeſtick Foes,*
To Thee her Honour and her Safety owes.
For This, Illuſtrious Chief, thy bright Renown
Spreads from the Riſing to the ſetting Sun.
Whilſt We, in Token of unfeigned Praiſe,
This Statue to our great Deliverer raiſe.
Here midſt our Saviour Gods triumphant ſtand,
The Ornament and Guardian of our Land.
What leſs can Sicyon, *or can We afford?*
She to Herſelf, and We to Her reſtor'd.

Aratus acting in this manner, got above the Envy of the Citizens, by the many good Offices he had done them; but *Antigonus* being uneaſy at his Succeſs, and reſolving either to fix him in His Intereſt, or at leaſt render him ſuſpected to *Ptolemy*, gave him ſeveral extraordinary Marks of his Favour and Affection, tho' he neither deſired, or did any thing to deſerve them.

them. Among Others, having one Day performed a Sacrifice at *Corinth*, he ſent Portions of the Victim to *Aratus*. And in the midſt of the Feaſt, when the Table was full of Company, he ſaid aloud that All might hear him, *I at firſt looked on this Youth of* Sicyon *no otherwiſe than as an open generous-hearted Perſon, and a true Stickler for the Liberty of his Country, but I now look upon him as a good Judge of the Manners and Actions of Princes. For formerly he deſpiſed Us; and fixed his Hopes and Dependance in foreign Parts, admiring the Riches of* Ægypt, *her Elephants, and Fleets, and the Magnificence of her Palaces; but now, after having taken a nearer View, and finding all that Pomp to be nothing but Shew and Pageantry, he is come over to Us: And for my part I willingly receive him, and reſolving to make great uſe of him My ſelf, command You to look upon him as a Perſon joined in Friendſhip with you.*

Theſe Words were not ſpoken in vain, but gave Thoſe, who envyed and maligned him, a fair handle againſt him. They All ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt to charge him with the heaveſt Calumnies, in their Letters to *Ptolemy*, who wrote to him, and expoſtulated the Matter with him. Thus we may obſerve in the flagrant Friendſhips of thoſe Princes, who, like jealous and paſſionate Lovers, contended and quarrelled for *Aratus*, a ſtrong Tincture of Envy and Malignity.

Aratus being for the firſt time choſen General of the *Achæans*, went and ravaged the Country of *Locris*, which lies juſt over-againſt the Gulf of *Corinth*, and plundered the Territories of *Calydon*. But marching with ten thouſand Men to the Succour of the *Bœotians*, he could not come up 'till after the Battel near (1) *Chæronea*, where

(1) We are not to confound this Action with that famous Battel of *Chæronea*, where the *Thebans* and *Athenians* were overthrown by *Philip*, which happened in the third Year of the hundred and tenth *Olympiad*, ſixty ſix Years before the Birth of *Aratus*.

they were beaten by the *Ætolians*, and loſt *Abœocritus* their General, and a Thouſand of their beſt Soldiers. (1) The Year following being again elected General, he made that famous Attempt of retaking the important Fortreſs of *Acro-Corinthus*; not ſo much for the Advantage of the *Sicyonians* or *Achæans*, as conſidering that by driving thence the *Macedonian* Garriſon, he ſhould take the Yoak from off the Neck of all *Greece*. *Chares* the *Athenian* having the good Fortune to get the better in a certain Battel againſt the King of *Perſia*'s Lieutenants, wrote to the People of *Athens*, and told them, that this Victory was *Siſter* to That at *Marathon*; and ſo may this Action of *Aratus* be well termed *Siſter* to That of *Pelopidas* the *Theban*, and *Thraſibulus* the *Athenian*, when they ſlew the Tyrants; except perhaps it may be ſaid to exceed them on this Account, becauſe This was not undertaken againſt natural *Græcians*, but againſt a foreign Power and Domination. The *Iſthmus* of *Corinth* which runs between the two Seas unites the Continent of *Greece* with that of *Peloponneſus*, and whenever the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which is built on a high Hill exactly in the Middle between thoſe two Continents, is well garriſoned, it can cut off the Communication with *Peloponneſus*, prevent the Paſſage of Troops, and prohibit all manner of Commerce both by Sea and Land, inſomuch that it makes Him who is poſſeſſed of it Maſter of all *Greece*. Wherefore the younger *Philip* King of *Macedon* was not in jeſt, but with great Truth called the City of *Corinth the Fetters of* Greece. It is no wonder therefore if this Poſt was earneſtly contended for by All, eſpecially by Kings and Princes.

(1) *Polybius*, who followed *Aratus* his Memoirs, and begun his Hiſtory, where the Other left off, tells us there were eight Years between *Aratus* his firſt Generalſhip, and That wherein he ſurprized the Citadel of *Corinth*.

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The Paſſion with which *Antigonus* deſired to get it into his Poſſeſſion was ſo ſtrong that it equalled the violent Tranſports of a frantick Lover. His Thoughts were continually upon the Rack, and he was contriving day and night how to take it by Surprize from Thoſe who were Maſters of it, for he deſpaired of doing it by open Force.

Alexander, who was poſſeſſed of it, being taken off by Poiſon, and, as it is ſaid, by His Direction, it fell into the Hands of his Wife *Nicæa*, who took upon her the Adminiſtration of Affairs, and was particularly careful of that important Fortreſs. *Antigonus* immediately ſent to her his Son *Demetrius*, alluring her with the pleaſing Hopes of making him marry her; and it was no diſagreeable Bait to a Woman ſomewhat advanced in Years, to think of being marryed to a Young Prince ſo amiable as *Demetrius*. This Lure brought her to his Hand, for ſhe wanted Strength to reſiſt ſo powerful a Temptation. However for all This ſhe would not deliver up the Place, but held it with a very ſtrong Garriſon, which He ſeeming to take no notice of, celebrated the Wedding in *Corinth*, entertaining them with Shows and Treats every Day, as one who had nothing elſe in his Mind but Mirth and Pleaſure.

One day, when the famous Muſician *Amœbeus* was to perform on the Theatre for Her Entertainment, he waited in Perſon on *Nicæa*, who was carryed thither in a Chair royally adorned, and being exceedingly elated with the great Honour done her, little thought of the Danger which hung over her. As ſoon as they were come to a Turning which led up to the Citadel, he bid the Chairmen go on before to the Theatre; then bidding farewell to *Amœbeus*, and all the wedding Fopperies, he haſtened up to the Caſtle with more ſpeed than could be expected from one of his Years. Finding

the Gate ſhut, he knock'd with his Staff, and commanded it to be opened. The Soldiers who were in Garriſon being ſurprized to ſee him, did as he commanded them. In this manner he made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel, at which he was ſo tranſported with Joy that he could not contain himſelf, but fell a drinking and revelling in the open Streets, and Places of publick Reſort, attended with She-Minſtrels, and crowned with Garlands. When we ſee a Man of his Age, who had experienced ſo many Turns of Fortune, play ſuch wanton Tricks, abandon himſelf to Debauch like a giddy Youth, ſtopping every one he met, ſaluting and careſſing them, We muſt confeſs that when an unexpected Joy ſeizes on the Heart of a Man void of Diſcretion, it hath a ſtronger Impreſſion upon him than either Fear or Sorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner poſſeſſed himſelf of *Acro-Corinthus*, put a Garriſon into it, conſiſting of Thoſe in Whom he chiefly confided, and made *Perſæus* the Philoſopher Governor. *Aratus*, even in the life-time of *Alexander*, had laid a Deſign of ſeizing on that Fortreſs, and ſecuring it for the Benefit of his Country, but when an Alliance was formed betwixt Him and the *Achæans*, and this very *Alexander* was comprehended in it, he deſiſted from the Execution. But now he could not reſiſt a freſh Opportunity, which offered itſelf in this Manner. There were in *Corinth* four Brothers, *Syrians* by Birth, One of Whom named *Diocles* ſerved as a Soldier in the Garriſon; but the other Three having ſeized on Some of the King's Treaſure, retreated to *Sicyon*, and applyed themſelves to one *Ægias* a Banker, whom *Aratus* made uſe of in all Money Tranſactions. Part of this Treaſure they immediately ſold, or pawned to Him; and *Erginus*, one of the Three, going often to ſee him, made the reſt over to him by Parcels: and this Commerce created

created by degrees a Familiarity betwixt Him and the Banker.

One day *Ægias* led him into a Diſcourſe of the Citadel, and the Garriſon that was in it. *Erginus* among other Things told him that as he often went thither to viſit his Brother, he had obſerved on that ſide which was ſteepeſt, a ſmall winding Path forced through the Rock, leading to a Part of the Wall belonging to the Caſtle, which was much lower than any of the reſt. Upon this *Ægias* ſaid to him with a Smile, *And will you, my Friend, venture to provoke the King for the ſake of a paltry Sum of Money, when it is in your Power to purchaſe immenſe Riches, with no more than one Hour's Service? Do you not know that if you are taken you will be puniſhed as ſeverely for this petty Theft as if you had betrayed the Citadel?* At theſe Words *Erginus* ſmiled in his Turn, and promiſed *Ægias* to ſound his Brother *Diocles*, *for*, ſaid he, *I cannot confide much in the other Two.*

Within a few days after This he returned, and undertook to conduct *Aratus* to that Part of the Wall where it was no more than fifteen Foot high, and to aſſiſt him in the Execution of his Enterprize, with the Concurrence of his Brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* on his Part agreed to give them threeſcore Talents, in caſe he ſucceeded; and if they miſcarried, and returned all ſafe back to *Sicyon*, he then would give each of them a Houſe, and a Talent. Now the threeſcore Talents being to be lodged in the Hands of *Ægias* for the uſe of *Erginus* and his Partner, and *Aratus* neither having ſo much by him, nor willing to give any Grounds of Suſpicion by taking it up of Others, he pawn'd his Plate and his Wife's Jewels to *Ægias* for the Money. For ſo great was his Soul, and ſo ſtrong a Paſſion had he for great Exploits, that remembring that *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* were eſteemed the beſt and juſteſt of

of all the *Græcians*, becauſe they ſcorned the greateſt Preſents, and would not proſtitute their Honour for Money, (1) He ſtrove even to out-do them in Generoſity, and choſe to be at all the Charge Himſelf in promoting of an Enterprize, in which he ran all the Hazard, for the ſake of the reſt, who did not ſo much as know what he was undertaking for them. And is there any one among us even in This degenerate Age who will not ſimpathize with him in this great Exploit, (2) who will not fight, if the Expreſſion may be allowed, with that great Man, who ſo dearly purchaſed ſo great a Danger, and mortgaged almoſt all he was worth for an Opportunity of expoſing his Life in the midſt of his Enemies in the dead of Night, without receiving any other Pledge or Security on his Part than the Hopes of performing a galant Action.

Now this Exploit, though dangerous enough in it ſelf, was made much more ſo by an Error happening through Miſtake in the very beginning. For *Technon*, one of *Aratus*'s Servants, was ſent away to *Diocles*, that they might together view the Wall. *Technon* had never ſeen *Diocles*, but made no queſtion of knowing him by the Marks *Erginus* had given him of him, namely, that he had curled Hair, was of a ſwarthy Complexion, and had no Beard. Being come therefore to the

(1) There is a great deal of Difference between refuſing Preſents when they are offered, and ſpending a Man's own Eſtate for the Service of his Country. This Action of *Aratus* is great and heroick in all its Circumſtances. He parts with his Subſtance, he parts with it ſecretly, unknown to any Man, and parts with it for the forwarding of an Undertaking, wherein He was to run the greateſt Danger. This Circumſtance cannot be put in a ſtronger Light than it is here by *Plutarch*.

(2) *Plutarch* is ſo tranſported with this heroick Action, the Thoughts of which have flung him into a ſort of Enthuſiaſm, that he would infuſe it into the Minds of his Readers, and inflame Them with the ſame Spirit, ſo as to intereſt them in the Adventure, and in a manner make them fight under the Conduct of that renowned *Grecian*.

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appointed Place, he ſtayed waiting without the Gates for *Erginus* and *Diocles*. The Place was called *Ornis*. In the mean time *Dionyſius*, Elder Brother to *Erginus* and *Diocles*, who knew nothing at all of the Matter, but much reſembled *Diocles*, happened to paſs by. Now *Technon*, incouraged by the likeneſs of his Features, asked him, if he was any thing related to *Erginus*, who anſwered he was his Brother; *Technon*, fully perſuaded that he talked to *Diocles*, without ſo much as asking his Name, or ſtaying for any other Token, gave him his Hand, and began to diſcourſe with him and ask him Queſtions about Matters agreed upon with *Erginus*. *Dionyſius* cunningly laying hold of his Miſtake, ſeemed to underſtand him very well, and returning towards the City, held him on in Diſcourſe inſenſibly. And being now near the Gate, he was juſt about to ſeize on him, when by chance *Erginus* met them, and apprehending the Cheat and the Danger, beckened to *Technon* to make his Eſcape, and immediately Both of them, betaking themſelves to their Heels, ran away as faſt as they could to *Aratus*, who for all this deſpaired not, but immediately ſent away *Erginus* to *Dionyſius* to bribe him to hold his Tongue, and he not only effected That, but brought him along with him to *Aratus*. As ſoon as they had got him in their Power they thought it not ſafe to part with him, but bound him, and confined him cloſe, whilſt They prepared for the Execution of their Enterpriſe.

When all things were in a Readineſs, *Aratus* commanded his Troops to be in Arms all Night, and taking with him four hundred choſen Men, few of Whom knew what they were going about, he led them ſtrait to the Gates of the City by the *Temple* of *Juno*. It was about the midſt of Summer, when the Moon was at full, and the Night clear without any Clouds, ſo that their Arms gliſtering

gliſtering by Moon-light made them run a great Hazard of being diſcovered. But as the foremoſt of them came near the City, a great Miſt came off from the Sea, and darkned the City and the Parts adjacent. There all the Troops ſat down to put off their Shoes, as well to prevent their making a noiſe, as becauſe they would be leſs ſubject to ſlip if they mounted the Ladders bare-footed. But *Erginus* taking with him ſeven young Men habited like Travellers, got unobſerved to the Gate, and killed the Sentry and the Guards that were upon the Watch. At the ſame time the Ladders were clapped to the Walls, and *Aratus* having in great haſte got up a hundred Men, he commanded the reſt to follow as well and as ſoon as they could, and immediately drawing up his Ladders, he marched through the City with his hundred Men towards the Caſtle, being overjoyed and in a manner ſure of Succeſs, becauſe he had proceeded thus far undiſcovered.

As they were advancing they met four of the Watch with a Light, which gave *Aratus* and his Party a full and timely View of Them, whilſt They remained undiſcovered. At firſt they lay as it were in Ambuſh among ſome old Ruins, but when they ſaw the Watch abreaſt they ſallied out, and killed Three of Them, but the Fourth having been wounded by a Sword in the Head ran away bawling as loud as he could, that the Enemy were got into the City. Immediately upon This the Trumpets ſounded an Alarm, and the whole City was in an Uproar. The Streets were in a Moment full of People running Some one way and Some another, and illuminated by an infinite Number of Lights which were kindled in the City, and on the Ramparts of the Caſtle, and a confuſed Noiſe was heard from every Quarter.

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In the mean time *Aratus* kept on his way, and laboured to get up the Rocks, at firſt ſlowly, and with much Difficulty, having loſt the Path, which lay deep, and was overſhadowed with Craggs, leading to the Wall with many Windings and Turnings; but the Moon immediately, and (1) as it were by Miracle, diſperſing the Clouds, gave Light to the moſt difficult part of the way, 'till he got to the Wall, and there the Clouds as miraculouſly reunited, hid the Face of the Moon, and once more involved every thing in Obſcurity.

The three hundred Soldiers *Aratus* had left without the Gates near *Juno*'s Temple entring the Town found it full of Tumult, Confuſion, and Illuminations, and not being able to find the Way *Aratus* had taken, or any Footſteps of him, they ſhrowded themſelves under the ſhady ſide of a rocky Precipice, where they waited in the utmoſt Diſtreſs and Perplexity. By this time *Aratus* was engaged upon the Ramparts of the Citadel, from whence a Noiſe deſcended like That of Perſons in a Fight; but as it was echoed and repeated from the adjacent Mountains, it was not known from whence it firſt proceeded. Whilſt the three hundred Soldiers were in a doubt which way to turn themſelves, *Archelaus* Captain of the King's Guard taking a good Number of Soldiers with him made up towards the Caſtle, with great Shouts, and Trumpets ſounding, to charge *Aratus* in the Rear, and marched by thoſe three hundred Men without

(1) Poetry, which is ſaid to keep all the Miracles in the World under her Thumb, never employed them better or more to the Purpoſe than Hiſtory doth in this Place. The Clouds gather on a ſudden in the midſt of a clear ſerene Night, when it was neceſſary that *Aratus* his March ſhould be concealed. They diſperſe when he wanted Light to guide his Steps through an unknown intricate Paſſage, and once more unite when it was convenient and neceſſary for him to be ſhrouded in Obſcurity.

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perceiving them. (1) He had no ſooner paſſed them but they roſe, as from an Ambuſcade, fell upon him, and killing the firſt they encountered, they ſo terrified the reſt together with *Archelaus* Himſelf, that they put them to Flight, and purſued them 'till they were quite broken and diſperſed.

By that time this Action was over *Erginus* arrived, being ſent from the Party under *Aratus*, to acquaint them that they were engaged with the Enemy, who defended themſelves with much Reſolution, and that *Aratus* ſtood in great need of their ſpeedy Aſſiſtance. They immediately deſired him to lead them on without delay, and as they marched up they ſignified their Approach by loud Shouts, on purpoſe to encourage them. The Moon, which happened then to be at full, ſhining on their Armour, made them appear to the Enemy at that Diſtance more in Number than they really were, and the Silence of the Night rendering the Echos more ſtrong and ſenſible, they concluded them to be the Shouts of a much more conſiderable Party. In ſhort when they were all joined they charged ſo violently that they drove off the Enemy, took poſt upon the Wall, and by break of day were Maſters of the Citadel, ſo that the firſt Rays of the riſing Sun illuſtrated their Glory. By this time the reſt of the Army came up to *Aratus* from *Sicyon*, the *Corinthians* joyfully receiving them at their Gates, and helping them to ſecure the reſt of the King's Forces.

(1) Chance oftentimes brings That to paſs, which was not to be effected by Prudence. Thoſe three hundred Soldiers who lay lurking in the Shade at the Foot of the Rock for no other Reaſon but becauſe they had loſt their Way, contributed more to the Victory than if they had followed *Aratus* up to the Citadel. They could have been no where better poſted than where Fortune had diſpoſed them, to prevent the Succours from the Town.

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As ſoon as *Aratus* had made himſelf ſure of his Victory he came down from the Citadel to the Theatre, where all the People were aſſembled out of Curioſity to hear what he would ſay to the *Corinthians*. After he had drawn up his *Achæans* on each ſide of the Avenues to the Theatre, he appeared armed as he was from behind the Scenes, with his Countenance extreamly altered through Exceſs of Toil, and Over-watching, ſo that the Joy with which his Heart exulted, and that Alacrity with which his great Succeſs had inſpired him, were clouded and depreſſed through extream Toil and Weakneſs. The People, as ſoon as they beheld him, broke out into loud Applauſes and Congratulations, and He taking his Spear in his right Hand, reſting his Knee a little bent, and his Body againſt it, ſtood a good while in that Poſture, ſilently receiving the Shouts and Acclamations of Thoſe who extolled his Valour, and applauded his Fortune. When theſe firſt Tranſports of the People were over, and the Theatre grew calm, recollecting the little Strength he had left, he began an Oration in the Name of the *Achæans*, ſuitable to the late Action, perſuading the *Corinthians* to aſſociate themſelves into the League, and at the ſame time delivered up to them the Keys of the City, which had never been in their Poſſeſſion ſince the time of King *Philip*. As for the Officers of *Antigonus*, he diſmiſſed *Archelaus*, whom he had taken Priſoner; *Theophraſtus* refuſing to quit the City he cauſed to be ſlain; and *Perſæus*, when he ſaw the Caſtle was loſt, got away to *Cenchreæ*. It is reported that not long after as He was amuſing himſelf with ſome diſputable Point in Philoſophy, and was told by ſome one preſent, *that in his Opinion none but a wiſe Man was fit to be a General*, he replied, *The Gods know that none of* Zeno's *Maxims once pleaſed*

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me better than This, (1) *but now I am quite of another Opinion, having been corrected by that young Blade of* Sicyon. This is by Many related of *Perſæus*.

Aratus immediately made himſelf Maſter of the Temple of *Juno*, and Haven of *Lechæum*, where he ſeized upon five and twenty of the King's Ships, together with five hundred Horſes, and four hundred *Syrian* Slaves which he ſold. The *Achæans* alſo put a Garriſon of four hundred Soldiers, and fifty Dogs with as many Keepers into *Acro-Corinthus*.

The *Romans*, in full Admiration of *Philopœmen*, called him *the laſt of the* Græcians, as if no great Man Had ever ſince his time been bred amongſt them; but I may well ſay that This was the laſt of the *Græcian* Exploits, being comparable to the beſt of them, both for the Daringneſs of it, and the Succeſs, as the Conſequences declared; for the *Megarians* revolting from *Antigonus* took part with *Aratus*, and the *Trœzenians* and *Epidaurians* ingrafted themſelves into the *Achæan* Community. His firſt Inroad was into *Attica*, and paſſing over into *Salamis* he plundered the Iſland, turning the *Achæan* force every way, as now let looſe, and ſet at liberty. Thoſe Priſoners that were Freemen he ſent home to *Athens* without Ranſome, which was the firſt Foundation of their Revolt from *Antigonus*. He drew *Ptolemy* likewiſe into the *Achæan* League, by reſigning to him the Management of the War, and getting him to be declared Captain-General

(1) He means that *Zeno*'s Principle, aſſerting *the wiſe Man to be the beſt Commander*, was contradicted by Experience in that Action when *Aratus* made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel of *Corinth*. Experience then produced a double Proof to the contrary, for *Perſæus* who was a wiſe Man, and a great Philoſopher, was not Soldier good enough to prevent *Aratus* from ſurprizing him; and *Aratus*, a young Man, and conſequently not a very wiſe Man, who had engaged in a very unpromiſing hazardous Enterprize, ſucceeded notwithſtanding in the Execution.

both by Sea and Land. This gained him ſo great a Reputation and Credit among the *Achæans*, that ſince he could not by Law be choſen their General every Year, yet every other Year he was, and by his Counſels and Actions was in effect always ſo. For they perceived that neither Riches nor Reputation, nor the Friendſhip of Kings, nor the private Intereſt of his own Country, nor any thing elſe, was ſo dear to him as the increaſe of the *Achæan* Power and Greatneſs. For he believed that ſmall Cities could be preſerved by nothing elſe, but a continual and combined Force, united by the Bond of common Intereſt; and as the Members of the Body live and breath by their mutual Communication and Connexion, and when once ſeparated pine away and putrify, in the ſame manner are Cities ruined by being diſmembered from one another, as well as preſerved when linked together into one great Body, which makes them enjoy the Benefit of that Providence and Counſel that governs the whole.

Aratus therefore obſerving that all the neighbouring Cities of any Figure were free, and lived under their own Laws, except *Argos*, and being uneaſy to ſee Her continue in Bondage, he reſolved to diſpatch the Tyrant *Ariſtomachus* who held her in Servitude, and made it a Point of Honour to reſtore that City to her Liberty where he had received his Education, and at the ſame time aſſociate ſo powerful a Member to the League of the *Achæans*. Nor were there Men wanting who had the Courage to undertake ſuch an Enterprize, *Æſchylus* and *Charimenes* the Soothſayer being at the Head of them; but they had no Swords, for the Tyrant had prohibited the keeping of them under a ſevere Penalty.

To remedy this Inconvenience *Aratus* cauſed ſeveral ſmall Daggers to be prepared at *Corinth*, and

hiding them in the Pack-ſaddles of ſome Carrier's Horſes that were carrying a Parcel of ordinary Ware to *Argos*, he got them by that Stratagem conveyed to them. But *Charimenes* admitting another Perſon as a Partner in the Deſign, without the Knowledge or Conſent of *Æſchylus* and his Aſſociates, they were ſo enraged at it that they excluded Him, and reſolved to execute the Deſign by Themſelves. As ſoon as *Charimenes* perceived their Drift he went in a Rage, and diſcovered the whole Plot the very Moment the Conſpirators were upon the Point of Execution. When they found themſelves detected moſt of them made a Shift to eſcape to *Corinth*.

(1) Not long after *Ariſtomachus* was ſlain by his Servants, and *Ariſtippus* a worſe Tyrant then He ſeized the Government, (2) upon which *Aratus* muſtring all the *Achæans* that were of Age, haſted away to the Aid of the City, believing that he ſhould find the *Argives* very ready to join with him; but the People being accuſtomed to Slavery, and none appearing to receive him, he retreated, giving thereby occaſion to accuſe the *Achæans* of committing Acts of Hoſtility in the midſt of Peace; upon which Account they were ſued in the Court of the *Mantinæaus*, and *Aratus* not making his appearance, *Ariſtippus* caſt them, and had Coſts given him to the value of thirty *Minæ*.

(1) This *Ariſtomachus*, who was killed by his Servants, is not to be confounded with Him, who was flung into the Sea at *Cenchræa*. The Firſt had *Ariſtippus* for his Succeſſor, the Second ſucceeded *Ariſtippus*, and ſurpaſſed all his Brother Tyants in Cruelty. I wonder *Polybius* takes no Notice of this *Ariſtippus*, who ſeized on the Tyranny upon the Death of the firſt *Ariſtomachus*.

(2) I doubt *Plutarch* has not in this Place obſerved the Order of Time. According to *Polybius* This was not undertaken by *Aratus* then when *Ariſtippus* ſucceeded *Ariſtomachus*, but during the Tyranny of the ſecond *Ariſtomachus*; unleſs it be allowed that *Aratus* made the ſame Attempt upon *Argos* at two different times, and both times with the ſame Succeſs. See *Polyb.* lib. 11.

And

And now both hating and fearing *Aratus*, he ſought to kill him, having the Aſſiſtance and good Wiſhes of King *Antigonus*; ſo that he was perpetually dogged and watched by Thoſe who waited for an opportunity to diſpatch him. But the ſureſt Guard of a Prince is the good Will of his Subjects; for where the Nobility and common People are not afraid of, but for their Governor, he ſees with many Eyes, and hears with many Ears whatſoever is a doing; wherefore I cannot but here digreſs a little from the Courſe of my Narrative, to deſcribe that manner of Life which the ſo much envied, Arbitrary Power, and the celebrated Pomp of uncontrolled Government obliged *Ariſtippus* to lead. This Tyrant, who had *Antigonus* for his Friend and Ally, who maintained ſo many Troops for the Security of his Perſon, and who had taken care not to leave one of his Enemies alive in the City, would not ſuffer his Guards to do Duty in the Palace, but in ſeveral Stations without, and round about it. As ſoon as Supper was over he conſtantly turned out all his Domeſticks, faſtened the Doors Himſelf, and then mounted with his Harlot into an upper Chamber through a Trap-door, on which he placed his Bed, and ſlept (if a Man in his Condition may be ſuppoſed to ſleep) always in Fear, Terror, and Anxiety. The Mother of his Harlot every Night removed the Ladder by which he mounted into his Bed-Chamber, and locked it up in Another Room. In the Morning ſhe brought it again, and called up this wonderful, this happy Tyrant, who came crawling out like a Serpent from his lurking Hole. Whereas *Aratus*, who, not by the Force of Arms but by his Virtue, and the Authority of the Law, obtained a firm perpetual Command, appeared in view of the whole World in a plain Veſt, and home-ſpun Cloak, and manifeſting himſelf on every Occaſion to be an

implacable Enemy to all Tyrants in general, (1) has left behind him a Poſterity, which remains in great Honour and Eſteem among the *Græcians* to this day. But of all Thoſe, who uſurped ſtrong Caſtles, maintained Life-guards, fenced themſelves with Arms, Gates, and Barricadoes, how few were there, who did not, (2) like timorous Hares, die a violent Death, without either Family, or Honourable Monument to preſerve their Memory?

Aratus made ſeveral Attempts both open and ſecret to ſurprize *Ariſtippus*, and recover *Argos* out of his Hands, but always miſcarried. One Night particularly he proceeded ſo far as to plant his Ladders, and mount the Wall with a ſmall Number of his Followers, expoſing himſelf to the utmoſt Danger. At firſt he ſlew all Thoſe who took the Alarm, and had the Courage to oppoſe him; but as ſoon as Day appeared the Tyrant attacked him on every ſide, whilſt the *Argives*, as if it had not been for their Liberties that *Aratus* was fighting, and they were only preſiding at the *Nemæan* Games, ſate with their Arms a-croſs like fair and candid Spectators. However *Aratus* defended himſelf with great Reſolution, and had his Thigh run thorough with a Lance, notwithſtanding which he kept his Ground all that Day, and could he have maintained it the following Night he had carried his Point; for the Tyrant thought of nothing but flying, and had already ſent a-board his Ships moſt of his Wealth and Treaſure. But no one gave *Aratus* Intelligence of it; beſides, he wanted Water, and

(1) *Polycrates*, to whom *Plutarch* addreſſeth this Life, was a Deſcendant of *Aratus*, and left two Sons, who continued the Race down ſtill lower, tho' it had already ſubſiſted three hundred and fifty Years from the Death of *Aratus*.

(2) He chuſeth to Inſtance Hares becauſe they are the moſt fearful of all Animals, and lye always hid under Cover. And yet notwithſtanding all their Fear and Caution, moſt of them die a violent Death.

was diſabled by his Wound, which grew very painful. This conſtrained him to draw off, and deſpairing to ſucceed by way of Surprize he had recourſe to open Force, and fell with his Army into the Territories of *Argos*, which he waſted.

This brought on a general Engagement betwixt Him and the Tyrant near the River *Chares*, where he is accuſed of withdrawing himſelf too ſoon out of the Fight, and thereby abandoning the Victory. For whereas one Part of his Army had apparently got the better on their ſide, and purſued the Enemy to a great Diſtance, He on his part retreated in great Diſorder into his Camp, not ſo much becauſe he was overpreſſed by the Enemy, as deſpairing of Succeſs, and through a Panick Fear. When the other Wing were returned from the Purſuit they were extreamly vexed to find that tho' they had routed the Enemy, and killed a great many more of their Men than they had loſt Themſelves, yet They who were vanquiſhed claimed the Trophy, which might have been Theirs of Right as they were Conquerors.

Aratus netled at this Reproach reſolved to bring it to a ſecond Engagement purely for the ſake of the Trophy. Wherefore having allowed his Men a day's time to refreſh themſelves, early the next Morning he drew up in order of Battel. But perceiving that the Enemy were reinforced with freſh Troops, and came on with better Courage than before, he durſt not hazard a Fight, but deſiring a Truce to bury his Dead, retreated. However this falſe Step was obliterated by his obliging Carriage, and courteous Behaviour, as well as by his dextrous Management in the Adminiſtration, for he ſoon after brought the Inhabitants of *Cleone* into the *Achæan* Alliance, and cauſed the *Nemæan* Games to be celebrated in that City, where they may be ſaid to have been firſt inſtituted, and ſo

they belonged more properly to Them than any Other. Theſe Games were alſo celebrated by the *Argives* at the ſame time, which gave the firſt Occaſion to the Violation of the Privilege of ſafe Conduct always granted to Thoſe who appeared as Combatants on that Occaſion, the *Achæans* ſelling as Enemies as Many as they could catch going through their Country to the Games at *Argos*. So vehement and implacable was the Hate *Aratus* had conceived againſt Tyrants.

Not long after *Aratus* having Notice that *Ariſtippus* had a Deſign upon *Cleone*, but was afraid of Him, becauſe he then reſided in *Corinth*, he aſſembled his Army by publick Proclamation, and commanding them to take along with them Proviſion for ſeveral Days he marched to *Cenchreæ*, hoping by this Stratagem to entice *Ariſtippus* to fall upon *Cleone*, when he ſuppoſed Him far enough off, and ſo it happened, for he immediately marched his Army againſt it from *Argos*. But *Aratus* returning that very Night from *Cenchreæ* to *Corinth* in the Duſk of the Evening, and beſetting all the Paſſages, he led on the *Achæans*, who followed him in ſo good Order and with ſo much Speed and Alacrity, that they were not diſcovered by *Ariſtippus*, not only whilſt upon their March, but even when they were drawn up in Order of Battel. As ſoon as it was Morning the Gates being opened and the Trumpets ſounding, he fell upon the Enemy with great Fury, and routing them followed the Purſuit, eſpecially that Way where *Ariſtippus* endeavoured to make his Eſcape, through a Country full of Windings and Turnings. The Purſuit laſted as far as *Mycenæ*, where the Tyrant was ſlain by a certain *Cretan*, called *Tragiſcus*, as *Dinias* reports, and of the common Soldiers above fifteen hundred. Yet tho' *Aratus* had obtained ſo great a Victory without the loſs of a Man, he could not make

make himſelf Maſter of *Argos*, nor reſtore it to its Liberty; becauſe *Ægias* and the younger *Ariſtomachus* got into the Town with the King's Forces, and ſeized upon the Government. But by this Exploit he ſilenced the Scoffs and Jeſts of thoſe who flattered the Tyrants, and in their Raillery would ſay, That the *Achæan* General was uſually troubled with a Looſeneſs when he was to fight a Battel, that the Sound of a Trumpet ſtruck him with a Drowſineſs and a Giddineſs, and that when he had drawn up his Army, and given the Word, he uſed to ask his Lieutenants and Officers, What further need there could be of his Preſence ſince the Dye was caſt, and then went a-loof to expect the Event. And ſo much did theſe Reports gain Credit, that when the Philoſophers diſputed whether to have one's Heart beat, and to change Colour upon any Danger, be an Argument of Fear, or rather of Weakneſs and coldneſs of Conſtitution, *Aratus* was always quoted as a valiant Captain, but ſubject to be ſo affected in time of Battel.

Having thus diſpatched *Ariſtippus*, he deviſed with himſelf how to ruin *Lyſiades* the *Megalopolitan*, who tyrannized over his Country. This Perſon was naturally of a generous Temper, and not inſenſible of true Honour. He was induced to uſurp the Government, not by the ordinary Motives of other Tyrants, Licentiouſneſs and Avarice, (1) but being young, and ſtimulated with the Deſire of Glory, ſuffered his generous Mind to be unwarily prepoſſeſſed with the vain and falſe Ap-

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plauſes given to Tyranny, as ſome happy and glorious thing; but he had no ſooner ſeized on the Government, than he grew weary of the Weight of it; and at once emulating the Tranquillity, and fearing the Policy of *Aratus*, he took a noble Reſolution firſt to free himſelf from Hatred and Fear, from Soldiers and Guards, and then to be a publick Benefactor to his Country. Sending therefore immediately for *Aratus* he reſigned the Government, and incorporated his City into the *Achæan* Community. The *Achæans* applauding this generous Action choſe him General, upon which, deſiring to outſtrip *Aratus* in Glory, amongſt many other improper Things he declared War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, which *Aratus* oppoſing was thought to do it out of Envy; but *Lyſiades* was the ſecond time choſen General, tho' *Aratus* appeared againſt him, and laboured to have that Charge conferred upon Another; for *Aratus* Himſelf had that Command every other Year, as has been ſaid before: and *Lyſiades* ſucceeded ſo well in his Pretenſions that he was thrice choſen General, governing alternately, as did *Aratus*; but at laſt declaring himſelf his profeſſed Enemy, and accuſing him frequently to the *Achæans*, he was rejected; for it appeared plainly that with counterfeit and adulterated Merit he conteſted againſt true and ſincere Virtue; and, as *Æſop* tells us, *that the Cuckoo one day asking the little Birds, Why they flew away from her, was anſwered, Becauſe they feared ſhe would ſome time or other prove a Hawk all on a ſudden, without giving them any Warning*; Thus it fell out with *Lyſiades*. His former Tyranny made the World ſtill entertain a ſtrong ſuſpicion of him, (1) that his Change was not ſincere, that his Mind

(1) If this Change had been ſincere, and that Spirit of Tyranny had been quelled in him, would he have declared againſt a Perſon of *Aratus* his great Worth and Virtue, the profeſſed Enemy of Tyrants?

was

was ſtill tainted with the ſame Principle, and that he would declare himſelf upon the firſt Occaſion.

Aratus acquired new Glory in the War againſt the *Ætolians*, for as the *Achæans* were by all means for giving them Battel on the Confines of *Megara*, in which they were ſeconded by *Agis* King of *Lacedæmon*, who had been called in to their Aſſiſtance, *Aratus* very warmly oppoſed it, and endured with great Patience the Injuries and Reproaches flung upon him on that Occaſion, as if he acted upon a Principle of Fear and Cowardice, preferring the Good of the Publick, and the Common Intereſt, to his own Credit and Reputation. He retired before the Enemy, ſuffered them to paſs over Mount *Gerania*, and enter *Peloponneſus*, without giving them the leaſt Diſturbance. But as ſoon as he underſtood they had ſeized on the City of *Pellene* in their March, he was then quite another Man; without loſs of time, or waiting for the reſt of his Troops, he took Such as he had with him, and marched inſtantly againſt the Enemy, who were weakened by their Victory, which had flung them into Inſolence and Diſorder. For indeed they were no ſooner got within the Walls of *Pellene*, but the Soldiers disbanded, diſperſed themſelves into the ſeveral Houſes, where they fell together by the Ears for the Plunder, whilſt the Commanders ſeized on the Wives and Daughters of the *Pellenians*, every Man putting his Helmet upon the Head of his Prize, to denote to whom ſhe belonged, and prevent her falling into the Hands of Another.

They were in this Poſture when News was brought that *Aratus* was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. This flung them into a terrible Conſternation, as may reaſonably be expected in ſo great a Confuſion; and before the Hindmoſt could hear of the Danger, They who were neareſt to the

the Gates, and in the Suburbs, skirmiſhing with the *Achæans* were ſoon routed, and running away in the utmoſt diſorder, ſtruck a Conſternation into Thoſe who were rallying, and marching to their Aſſiſtance, ſo that they were at a loſs upon what to determine. In this Tumult and Confuſion one of the Captives, the Daughter of *Epigethes*, a Lady remarkable for her ſingular Beauty, and Majeſtick Stature, was ſitting in the Temple of *Diana*, where the Officer, whoſe Prize ſhe was, had ſecured her, having put his Helmet with three lofty Plumes upon her. She, alarmed at the great Noiſe ſhe heard, aroſe in a Fright in order to fly, but when ſhe was got to the Gate of the Temple, and from the Top of the Steps caſt her Eyes down upon the Combatants with the Helmet ſtill upon her Head, ſhe ſeemed to the Citizens to be ſomething more than human, and the Enemy believed her to be ſome Deity, at which they were ſeized with ſo much Fear and Aſtoniſhment that they had no Power to defend Themſelves.

The *Pellenians* tell us that the Statue of *Diana* ſtands uſually locked up, and untouched, but that when the High Prieſteſs removes it, and it is born in Proceſſion, every one turns his Eyes away from it, without daring to look towards it; for that the ſight of it is not only terrible, and dangerous to Mankind, but where-ever ſhe paſſeth the Trees become Barren, and the Fruit is blaſted. This Image therefore, they ſay, the Prieſteſs produced at that time, and holding it directly in the Faces of the *Ætolians*, made them loſe their Reaſon and Judgment. (1) But *Aratus* mentions no ſuch thing in his Commentaries. He only ſays, That having put to Flight the *Ætolians*, and falling in Pell-mell

(1) *Aratus* was too wiſe to ſtuff his Memoirs with ſuch fabulous Narratives, which were only in the Mouths of old Women, and Children.

with

with them into the City, he drove them out by main Force, and killed ſeven hundred of them. This Exploit was highly cryed up, and has been eſteemed as one of the moſt famous Actions that ever was performed. (1) *Timanthes* the Painter deſcribed it with ſo much Strength and Energy, that They who beheld the Piece could not look on it as a Picture, but as the very thing it ſelf, ſo naturally and with ſo much Life is it there repreſented.

In the mean time many Princes and States confederating againſt the *Achæans*, *Aratus* thought it beſt to clap up a Peace with the *Ætolians*. On this Occaſion he made uſe of the Aſſiſtance of *Pantaleon*, One of the moſt powerful among them, and of the greateſt Intereſt and Authority in his Country. By his means he not only ſtruck up a Peace with them, but concluded an offenſive and defenſive Alliance between the two Nations. Being ſtill very deſirous to free the *Athenians* alſo, he was cenſured and accuſed by the *Achæans*, for that notwithſtanding the Truce and Suſpenſion of Arms agreed upon between Them and the *Macedonians*, he had attempted to take the Haven of *Piræus*. But he denies this Fact in his Commentaries, and lays the Blame on *Erginus*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he had taken the Citadel of *Corinth*, alledging that He upon his own private Account endeavoured to ſcale the *Piræus*, and that his Ladders happening to break, and He being hotly purſued, called out ſeveral times upon

(1) I wonder to find *Pliny* take no Notice of This among the other Pieces he mentions of *Timanthes*; and I as much wonder that no modern Painter, excellent in his Art, has thought of the Subject, for it would certainly make a fine Picture. *Pliny* ſaith of this *Timanthes* that he had a lively Fancy; that more things were diſcovered in his Works than were painted; that tho' his Art and Knowledge were great, he was ſtill greater in his Genius, and that in drawing a Hero he exhauſted all the Force of which Painting is capable, lib. xxxv. x.

Aratus

Aratus as if He had been preſent, by which Means he deceived the Enemy, and got ſafely off. But methinks this Excuſe is very weak and improbable; (1) for it is not very likely that *Erginus*, a private Man, and a *Syrian* Stranger, ſhould conceive in his Mind ſo great an Attempt, without the Inſtigation and Aſſiſtance of *Aratus*; nor was it twice or thrice, but very often, that like obſtinate Lovers he diſcovered a Deſign to be Maſter of *Piræus*, and was ſo far from being diſcouraged by his Diſappointments, that his miſſing his Hopes but narrowly, was an Incentive to him to proceed the more boldly in his Deſign. One time amongſt the reſt, making his Eſcape through *Thriaſium*, he put his Leg out of Joint, and was forced to ſcarifie it in Order to his Cure, ſo that for a long time he was carried in a Litter to the Wars. And as ſoon as *Antigonus* was dead, *Demetrius* ſucceeding him in the Kingdom, he was more bent than ever upon ſetting *Athens* at Liberty; and more openly deſpiſed the *Macedonians*. Wherefore being overthrown in a Battel near *Phylacia*, by *Bythis*, *Demetrius*'s General, and there being a very ſtrong Report, that he was either taken or ſlain, *Diogenes*, the Governor of the *Piræus*, ſent Letters to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achæans to depart that City, ſeeing* Aratus *was dead*. When theſe Letters came to *Corinth*, *Aratus* happened to be there in Perſon, ſo

(1) This Argument in *Plutarch* is indeed very ſolid; and yet it may be ſaid in Juſtification of *Aratus* that this *Erginus* having been well rewarded for his Service when *Aratus* reduced the Citadel of *Corinth*, might be tempted to lay out his Money in raiſing ſome Forces, and ſtrike a bold ſtroke, for which he was ſure to be thoroughly gratified in Caſe he ſucceeded. The many Attempts *Aratus* made afterwards upon that very Haven indeed witneſs ſomething againſt him, but the Proof is not inconteſtable. *Aratus* might have thought of the ſame Project as well as *Erginus*, and have deſired to execute it.

that

that *Diogenes*'s Meſſengers being ſufficiently mocked and derided, were forced to return to their Maſter. King *Demetrius* alſo ſent a Ship, *wherein Aratus was to be brought to him in Chains.* But the *Athenians* exceeding all Bounds of Flattery to the *Macedonians*, crowned themſelves with Garlands upon the firſt News of his Death; wherefore invading their Territories in a Rage, he pierced as far as the Academy, but then ſuffering himſelf to be pacified, he did no further Act of Hoſtility. This among other things raiſed in the *Athenians* a great Veneration for his Virtue; ſo that when afterwards upon the Death of *Demetrius* they attempted to recover their Liberty they called Him to their Aſſiſtance. Although at that time another Perſon was General of the *Achæans*, and *Aratus* Himſelf was confined to his Bed by a Diſtemper, which had hung long upon him, yet rather than fail the City in that time of need he was carried thither in a Litter.

As ſoon as he was arrived he prevailed with *Diogenes* the Governor to deliver up the Haven of *Piræus*, the Fortreſs of *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium* to the *Athenians*, in Conſideration of a hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* Himſelf furniſhed Twenty out of his own Pocket. Upon this the *Æginetæ* and the *Hermonians* joined themſelves to the *Achæans*, and the greateſt part of *Arcadia* became Tributary to them, ſo that the *Macedonians* ceaſing to moleſt them, by reaſon of their Wars with other Neighbouring Nations, and the *Ætolians* being their Allies, the *Achæan* Power increaſed very conſiderably. Now *Aratus*, deſirous to effect a Deſign he had long had in his Mind, and impatient that Tyranny ſhould ſtill neſt it ſelf in ſo near a City as *Argos*, he ſent to *Ariſtomachus* to perſuade him *to reſtore Liberty to that City, and to aſſociate it to the* Achæans,

ans, *and that following* Lyſiades's *Example* (1) *he ſhould rather chuſe to be the General of a great Nation, with Eſteem and Honour; than the Tyrant of one City, with continual Hatred and Danger.* *Ariſtomachus* ſlighted not the Meſſage, but deſired *Aratus* to ſend him fifty Talents, with which he might pay off the Soldiers. In the mean time whilſt the Money was providing, *Lyſiades* being then General, and extreamly ambitious that this Advantage might ſeem to be of His procuring for the *Achæans*, he accuſed *Aratus* to *Ariſtomachus*, as one who bore an irreconcileable Hatred to the Tyrants, inſinuating that he ought rather to truſt himſelf in His Hands, than in Thoſe of an implacable Enemy. *Ariſtomachus* gave Credit to what was ſuggeſted to him, and ſo *Lyſiades* had all the Honour of bringing the Tyrant into the League of the *Achæans*. But here the *Achæan* Council gave a manifeſt Proof of the great Credit *Aratus* had with them, and the good Will they bore him. For when He ſpake againſt *Ariſtomachus*'s being admitted into the Aſſociation, they rejected him with great Anger, but as ſoon as he had changed his Opinion, and began to appear for it, they chearfully and readily decreed that the *Argives* and *Phliaſians* ſhould be incorporated into their Common-wealth, and the next Year they choſe *Ariſtomachus* General.

Ariſtomachus finding himſelf highly honoured and eſteemed by the *Achæans*, was very deſirous to Invade *Laconia*, and for that purpoſe ſent for *Aratus* from *Athens*. *Aratus* wrote to him to diſſuade

(1) This is a ſtrong Remonſtrance, founded upon a true Principle; but I will venture to ſay further that it is better, and more glorious, for a Prince to be choſen the Arbitrator of Nations in regard of his Juſtice, than to make himſelf their Maſter by the Force of Arms and Uſurpation.

him

him all he could from that Expedition, being very unwilling the *Achæans* ſhould be ingaged againſt *Cleomenes*, a young Man full of Mettle and Reſolution, and upon whom the greateſt Dangers had no other Effect than to augment his Power and Reputation. But *Ariſtomachus* reſolving to go on, *Aratus* obeyed his Summons, and repaired to the Army. *Cleomenes* offered them Battel near *Pallantium*, but *Aratus* prevailing upon *Ariſtomachus* not to engage, *Lyſiades* laid a heavy Accuſation againſt him before the *Achæans*, and the Year following conteſted with him for the Command, but *Aratus* had the Majority of Voices, and was for the twelfth time declared General.

This Year being defeated by *Cleomenes* near Mount *Lycæum* he fled, and wandering up and down the whole Night it was ſaid that he was ſlain. This is the ſecond time the Report of his Death was ſpread, and believed by the *Græcians*. But He having eſcaped this Danger and rallied his Forces, was not content to march off in Safety, but making uſe of the preſent Conjuncture, when no Body dreamed any ſuch thing, fell ſuddenly upon the *Mantinæans*, Allies of *Cleomenes*, and when he had taken the City he put a good Garriſon into it, and declared all thoſe Strangers free of the City, who had ſettled in it; acquiring hereby greater Advantages to the *Achæans* when vanquiſhed, than they could have hoped for, if they had been Conquerors.

The *Lacedæmonians* invading a ſecond time the Territories of the *Megalopolitans*, *Aratus* marched to their Aſſiſtance, but refuſed coming to an Engagement with *Cleomenes*, tho' he did all he could to provoke him to it, nor would he be prevailed upon by the *Megalopolitans*, who moſt earneſtly preſſed him. For beſides that by Nature he was averſe to ſet Battels, he was then much inferior in number

number of Men, and was to deal with a daring Man, and in his Prime, Himſelf being now in the Declenſion of his Ambition as well as Courage. (1) He conſidered alſo that He ought to maintain that Glory he was now in Poſſeſſion of, by Caution, which the Other aſpired to by Forwardneſs and Daring.

However the light-armed Infantry having made a Sally, and puſhed the *Lacedæmonians* as far as their Camp, and even to their Tents, *Aratus* could not be provoked even by that Advantage, but poſting himſelf in a Hollow hindered his Troops from advancing. *Lyſiades* extreamly vexed at this Conduct, and calling *Aratus* a thouſand Cowards, entreated the Horſe to ſecond Thoſe who had the Enemy in Chace, and not let a certain Victory ſlip out of their Hands, or forſake Him, who was going to venture his Life in the Service of his Country. When he had drawn together a good Body of choſen Troops he charged the Enemy's right Wing with ſo much Vigour that he ſoon broke them and put them to Flight. But purſuing them with an inconſiderate Heat, and too impatient a Deſire of Glory, he hurried himſelf into crooked Paſſes, woody, and full of broad Ditches, where *Cleomenes* turning upon him, and attacking him, he fell in the moſt glorious of all Actions, fighting valiantly at the very Entrance into his Country. The reſt of the Cavalry taking to their Heels bore back upon the main Body, where they broke the Ranks, communicated their Fears in every Quarter, and made the whole Army ſhare with them in their Defeat, and Flight.

(1) This contains in it a very uſeful Leſſon. Such Generals as have not yet made themſelves famous, or acquired Renown, may court it in Actions full of Boldneſs and Temerity; but They who are already in Poſſeſſion of it, ought rather to be careful to preſerve it with Prudence, and Precaution, and truſt nothing to Hazard, or Uncertainty.

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The greateſt Share of this Misfortune and Diſgrace was charged upon *Aratus*, who was ſuſpected of having betrayed *Lyſiades*. The *Achæans*, who retired in great Indignation, conſtrained him to follow them as far as *Ægium*, where calling a Council it was decreed that he ſhould no longer be furniſhed with Money, nor have any more foreign Soldiers hired for him, but that, if he would make War, he ſhould do it at his own Expence. He reſented this Affront ſo heinouſly that he was upon the point of delivering up the Seal, and laying down the Office of General; but conſidering well of the Matter he thought it beſt to bear it with Patience, and ſoon after leading the *Achæans* to *Orchomenum* he fought *Megiſthonus* the Father-in-law of *Cleomenes*, overthrew him, killed three hundred of his Men, and took Him Priſoner.

Now whereas he uſed to be choſen General every other Year, when his turn came he was called to take upon him that Charge, but refuſed it, and *Timoxenus* was choſen in his ſtead. The Reaſon alledged for this Refuſal, (his being diſcontented, and offended at the People for their late Uſage) was not the real Cauſe, but the ill Circumſtances of the *Achæan* Affairs. For *Cleomenes* did not now Invade them coldly and cautelouſly as formerly, as one curbed by the Magiſtrates, but having killed the *Ephori*, equally divided the Lands, and made many Strangers free of the City, he was become abſolute in his Government, fell in good earneſt upon the *Achæans*, and peremptorily demanded to be declared General of the League. Wherefore *Aratus* was much to be blamed, for that in ſo terrible a Storm, when All was at Stake, and the whole Community was in danger of Sinking, He who was Pilot ſhould quit the Helm, and that at a time when he ought rather to have Seized on it by Force if it had been in the Hands of Another, and have

provided for the common Safety even at the Hazard of his own Life. Or if he thought the Affairs of the *Achæans* to be in a deſperate Condition, and out of His Power to retrieve them, (1) he ought to have yielded All up to *Cleomenes*, rather than to barbarize *Peloponneſus* once more with ſo many *Macedonian* Garriſons, to fill the Citadel of *Corinth* with *Illyrian* and *Galatian* Soldiers, and join with Thoſe, whom he had ſo often overcome in the Field by Force of Arms, and been too hard for by ſuperior Strokes of Policy in Treaties, and under the ſpecious Name of Confederates give Them Admiſſion into all his Towns and Fortreſſes, whom he had branded with ſo many Calumnies in his Commentaries.

It may be ſaid *Clomenes* was Arbitrary and Tyrannical; ſuppoſing That to be true, yet was he deſcended from the *Heraclidæ*, and *Sparta* was his Country, the meaneſt Citizen whereof deſerved to have been preferred to the Generalſhip of the League, before the Firſt in Rank of the *Macedonians*, at leaſt by Thoſe who were never ſo little concerned for the Honour and Diginity of *Greece*. Beſides, *Cleomenes* lay'd Claim to that Command for no other end but to have it in his Power to be ſerviceable and beneficent to the *Acheans*, in Gratitude and Acknowledgment of ſo glorious a Title. Whereas *Antigonus* was no ſooner declared Commander in Chief by Sea and Land, but before he would accept of that Charge he inſiſted upon having the Citadel of *Corinth* delivered into his Hands, as the Hire of the Service he was to per-

(1) For it would have been more honourable and glorious for the *Achæans* to have had the King of *Sparta* General of the League, than with their Diſſentions to uncivilize *Peloponneſus*, by crowding it with ſo many Garriſons of *Macedonians*, *Gauls*, *Illyrians*, &c.

form

form; (1) imitating herein *Æſop*'s Huntſman, who would not mount his Horſe 'till he had firſt bridled him: Neither would *Antigonus* get up, and ride the *Achæans*, 'till they had offered their Backs to him, and courted him to it by their Decrees, and Embaſſies, and 'till he had bridled them by the Garriſon he placed in the Citadel, and the Hoſtages he exacted from them. It is true *Aratus* endeavours to juſtify himſelf from the Neceſſity he was under: But we are aſſured by *Polybius* that long before This, being jealous of the enterprizing Genius of *Cleomenes*, he had entered into a ſecret Treaty with *Antigonus*, and prevailed upon the *Megalopolitans* to demand in the Council of the *Achæans* that He might be called in to their Aſſiſtance. For the *Megalopolitans* were the moſt expoſed of Any to the Incurſions and Depredations of *Cleomenes*. *Phylarchus* writes the ſame Thing; but We are not to give much Credit to that Hiſtorian, where he is not backed by the Teſtimony of *Polybius*. For whenever he mentions *Cleomenes* his Zeal flings him into a Fit of Enthuſiaſm, and as if he was rather Pleading, than writing a Hiſtory, his whole Buſineſs is to accuſe the One, and juſtify the Other.

The *Achæans* therefore loſt the City of *Mantinæa*, which *Cleomenes* took from them a ſecond time, and being beaten in a great Fight near *Hecatombæum*, ſo general was the Conſternation, that they immediately ſent to *Cleomenes* to deſire him to come to *Argos*, and take the Government upon him. But *Aratus*, as ſoon as he underſtood that he was coming, and was got as far as *Lerna* with his Army, fearing

(1) This is the ſame Fable with That ſo well told by *Horace*, Ep. x. lib. 1.

Cervus Equum, pugnâ melior, communibus herbis
Pellebas ———

This Fable is in *Æſop*'s Collection, but it is ſaid that before Him the Poet *Steſichorus* applied it to the *Himerians*, who were going to raiſe a Guard for *Phalaris*.

the worſt ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to intreat him to come accompanyed with three hundred only, as to Friends and Confederates, and if he miſtruſted any thing, he ſhould receive what Hoſtages he demanded. *Cleomenes* looking on this Entreaty as no better then a piece of Mockery, and an Affront, drew back immediately, and ſent a Letter to the Council of the *Achæans* full of Complaints and Invectives againſt *Aratus*. *Aratus* wrote one likewiſe in the ſame Style againſt *Cleomenes*, and they were Both tranſported with ſo much Bitterneſs and Rancor on this Occaſion, that the Reputation even of their Wives and Families was brought into the Quarrel.

Hereupon *Cleomenes* being highly incenſed ſent a Herald to declare War againſt the *Achæans*, and in the mean time miſſed very narrowly of taking *Sicyon* by Treachery. Turning from thence he ſtormed *Pellene*, and took the City, deſerted by the *Achæan* General, as he did *Pheneon* and *Penteleon* not long after; upon which the *Argives* voluntarily joined with him, and the *Phliaſians* received a Garriſon, and in ſhort nothing held firm for the *Achæans*, but an univerſal Confuſion ſurrounded *Aratus*, who beheld all *Peloponneſus* ſhaken, and the Cities revolting by the Practices of Innovators; for no Place was quiet or ſatisfied with the preſent Condition; ſo that amongſt the *Sicyonians* and *Corinthians* Themſelves, Many were detected to have carryed on a private Correſpondence with *Cleomenes*, out of a Deſire to make themſelves Maſters, having of a long time before been diſinclined to the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

Aratus receiving a Commiſſion to try and condemn them without Appeal, paſſed Sentence of Death upon as Many as were found guilty at *Sicyon*. And as he was proceeding with the ſame Rigour at *Corinth* alſo, he irritated the People, who were grown ſick

ſick and weary of the *Achæan* Government: Wherefore running tumultuouſly to the Temple of *Apollo*, they ſent for *Aratus*, reſolving to take or kill him before they broke out into open Rebellion. He came accordingly, leading his Horſe in his Hand, as if he ſuſpected nothing. As ſoon as he appeared at the Gate of the Temple Several ſtood up and accuſed him with great Warmth and Bitterneſs, when He with a ſteddy ſettled Countenance, and Words full of Mildneſs and Complacency, deſired them to ſit down, and not behave themſelves in that irregular Manner, with ſo much Diſorder and Confuſion. At the ſame time he cauſed all Thoſe to enter into the Temple who were ſtanding at the Gate, whilſt He drew back by little and little, as if he wanted ſomebody to hold his Horſe. Clearing himſelf thus inſenſibly of the Croud, and ſpeaking without any Emotion or Concern to as many of the *Corinthians* as he met, and preſſing them to go to the Temple, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf near the Citadel, before any one could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of his Deſign, he leaped upon his Horſe, and having injoined *Cleopater*, who commanded in the Garriſon, to be careful of his Charge, he rod away full ſpeed to *Sicyon*, followed by no more than thirty of his Soldiers, the reſt leaving him, and ſhifting for Themſelves.

As ſoon as it was known that he was fled, the *Corinthians* ſent out a Party after him to apprehend him; but failing of their Deſign, they immediately ſent for *Cleomenes*, and delivered up the City to Him. He did not think the Poſſeſſion of the City an Equivalent for the Loſs of *Aratus*, whom they had ſuffered to ſlip out of their Hands. However as ſoon as They who inhabited that Quarter near the Sea called *Acta* had joined him, and ſurrendered their Towns to him, he made a Wall and Circumvallation round the Citadel of *Corinth*.

In the mean time, as ſoon as *Aratus* was arrived at *Sicyon*, many of the *Achæans* came in to him, and in a General Aſſembly he was once more declared Commander in Chief with abſolute Power and Authority, but had only a Guard of his own Citizens appointed to attend him. After having governed the Affairs of the *Achæans* for thirty Years together, and been all that time the firſt Man in *Greece* both in Power and Reputation, he now found himſelf abandoned, indigent, perſecuted, and born as it were on a Plank ſaved out of the Shipwrack of his Country, in the midſt of the moſt outrageous Tempeſt and impendent Dangers; for the *Ætolians* refuſed to aſſiſt him in his Diſtreſs, when he ſent to Them for Aid; and the *Athenians*, who were well affected to him, were diverted from lending him any Succour, by the Authority of *Euclides* and *Micion*. Now whereas he had a Houſe and Treaſure in *Corinth*, *Cleomenes* meddled not with it, nor ſuffered any body elſe to touch it, but ſending for his Friends and Domeſticks, he commanded Them to take Care of his Concerns, as Thoſe who were to give an Account of them to *Aratus*: He alſo privately ſent *Tripylus* unto him, and afterwards *Migiſtonus* his Father-in-law, to offer him, beſides ſeveral other Things, a yearly Penſion of twelve Talents, which was twice as much as *Ptolemy* allowed him, for he gave him but ſix; and all that he demanded in return was only to be declared General of the *Achæans*, and together with Them have the keeping of the Citadel of *Corinth*: To which *Aratus* returned for Anſwer *that He did not ſo much govern the Affairs of the* Achæans, *and he was governed by them.*

Cleomenes taking this Anſwer for an Evaſion and Affront, fell immediately into the Territories of *Sicyon*, which he plundered and waſted, under his Noſe, and kept the City blocked up for three Months together; all which time *Aratus* was debating with himſelf

himſelf whether he ſhould bribe *Antigonus* to come to his Aſſiſtance with the Surrender of the Citadel, for no Aid was to be expected from him without it. In the mean time the *Achæans* held a Council at *Ægium*, to which they called *Aratus*: but it was very hazadous for him to paſs thither, becauſe the City was inveſted on every Side; beſides, the Citizens endeavoured to ſtop him by their Intreaties, proteſting that they would not ſuffer him to expoſe himſelf to ſo evident Danger, the Enemy being ſo near; the Women alſo and Children hung about him, weeping and embracing him as their common Father and Defender. But He having comforted and incouraged them as well as he could, got on Horſe-back, and being accompanyed with ten of his Friends, and his Son, then a Youth, got away to the Sea-ſide, and finding ſome Veſſels there, which rode at Anthor, went on Board of them, and ſailed to *Ægium* to the Council, in which it was decreed that *Antigonus* ſhould be called in to their Aid, and ſhould have the Citadel of *Corinth* delivered to him, to whom *Aratus* ſent his Son with the other Hoſtages. The *Corinthians* were extreamly offended at this Proceeding, ſeized on his Treaſure, and gave his Houſe to *Cleomenes*. *Antigonus* being now near at hand with his Army, in which were twenty thouſand Foot, and one thouſand four hundred Horſe, *Aratus* (1) with the other Magiſtrates went to meet him by Sea, the Enemy ſuſpecting nothing of it, as far as *Pegæ*, tho' he had no great Confidence either in *Antigonus* or the

(1) It is in the Greek μετὰ τῶν δημιυργῶν, for that was the Name the *Dorians* gave their Magiſtrates. Δημιυργοὶ, παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν οἱ ἄρχονλες τὰ δημόσια πράτλονλες, ὥσπερ Ἀθήνεσιν οἱ Δήμαρχοι λέγονλαι. Heſych. Demiourgoi *among the* Dorians *are thoſe Magiſtrates who are entruſted with the Adminiſtration of their Affairs, and are the Same with Thoſe the* Athenians *call* Demarchoi.

Macedonians; for he was very ſenſible that he had built His Greatneſs upon Their Loſs, and that the firſt Pretenſion he had to the Management of Affairs was founded upon the Enmity between Him and *Antigonus* the Elder. But perceiving the preſent Neceſſity and Juncture unavoidable, to which Thoſe who ſeem to command are conſtrained to obey, he reſolved to put all to the Venture. So ſoon therefore as *Antigonus* was told that *Aratus* was coming up to him, he ſaluted the reſt of the Company after the ordinary Manner, but Him he received at the very firſt in an honourable way, and finding him upon Tryal to be a good and diſcreet Man, he admitted him into his moſt private Familiarity: for *Aratus* was not only uſeful to him in the Management of Affairs, but agreeable alſo in private Converſation; and therefore, though *Antigonus* was young, yet as ſoon as he obſerved the Temper of the Man to be proper for a Prince's Friendſhip, he made more Uſe of Him than of any Other, not only of the *Achæans*, but alſo of the *Macedonians* who were about him; ſo that the Thing fell out to him juſt as the Gods had foretold it. For it is reported, That as *Aratus* was not long before offering Sacrifice, there were found in the Liver two Gall-bags incloſed in the ſame Caul, whereupon the Soothſayer aſſured him that two Perſons, who at preſent ſeemed to be irreconcileable, would ſoon be united in the ſtricteſt ties of Friendſhip. *Aratus* at firſt deſpiſed this Prediction, having no great Faith in the Prognoſtications drawn from Victims, and chuſing rather to make uſe of his Reaſon; but ſome time after, when the War had taken a favourable Turn, and was far advanced, *Antigonus* made an Entertainment at *Corinth*, to which a great Number of Gueſts were invited, and *Aratus* was placed next above him. Whilſt they were at Table *Antigonus* called for a Cloak to fling over him,

him, and asked *Aratus if he did not find it very cold*, and He replying *that he was never colder in his Life*, *Antigonus* preſſed him to come ſtill nearer, and the Servants flung the Cloak over both their Shoulders. (1) Then *Aratus* remembring the Sacrifice fell a laughing, and told the King what happened to him on that Occaſion, and the Interpretation that was put upon it. But this did not fall out 'till after the Times of which we are now ſpeaking.

As ſoon as they had Both plighted their Faith to each other at *Pegæ*, they marched againſt the Enemy. There happened many warm Actions under the Walls of *Corinth*, where *Cleomenes* was entrenched, and the *Corinthians* defended themſelves with great Courage and Reſolution.

In the mean time *Ariſtotle* the *Argive*, one of *Aratus* his moſt intimate Friends, ſent privatly to him, to let him know, that he would cauſe *Argos* to rebel, if he would come thither in Perſon with ſome Soldiers. *Aratus* acquainted *Antigonus* therewith, and taking fifteen hundred Men with him, he ſailed immediately from the *Iſthmus* to *Epidaurus*. But the *Argives* had not Patience 'till he could arrive, but making a ſudden Inſurrection fell upon *Cleomenes*'s Soldiers, and drove them into the Citadel. *Cleomenes* having Notice of This, and fearing leſt if the Enemy ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of *Argos*, they might cut off his Retreat home, quitted the Citadel of *Corinth* that very Night, and marched to the Aſſiſtance of his Friends in *Argos*. He got thither before *Aratus*, and repulſed the Enemy; but He appearing not long after, and the King ap-

(1) No Token or Prediction can ever meet with a more compleat Accompliſhment. *Antigonus* and *Aratus* united under the ſame Covering were the two Gaul-bags incloſed in the ſame Caul. This was enough to have cured the Infidelity of *Aratus*, and yet it only ſet him a laughing; an Inſtance of good natural Senſe in a Man who was a Stranger to the Precepts of Philoſophy.

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proaching with his Forces, he thought it the ſafeſt way to retreat to *Mantinea*.

Immediately upon This all the Cities in *Peloponneſus* declared for the *Achæans*. *Antigonus* ſeized on the Citadel of *Corinth*, and *Aratus* being choſen General by the *Argives* perſuaded them to preſent *Antigonus* with the Eſtates and Forfeitures of the late Tyrants, and all the Traitors. After they had put *Ariſtomachus* to the Queſtion at *Cenchreæ* (1) they flung him into the Sea, upon which (2) *Aratus* was

(1) *Phylarchus* the Hiſtorian highly exaggerates the Death of this Tyrant, as if they had made him ſuffer the moſt cruel Torments; but this is very fully refuted by *Polybius*, lib. 11.

(2) *Plutrach* ſeems here to give into the Prejudices of *Phylarchus*, who was a great Stickler for *Ariſtomachus*. He ought rather to have followed *Polybius*, who in his Second Book makes it appear that this *Ariſtomachus* did not only deſerve a much ſeverer Puniſhment than That of being caſt into the Sea; but that if he had ſuffered even more than what is complained of by *Phylarchus*, all would not have been ſufficient to expiate the Evil he was Author of in the Compaſs of one day, when *Aratus* having got ſecretly into *Argos* at the Head of ſome few of his *Achæans*, expoſing his Perſon to imminent Danger, and fighting bravely for the Liberty of *Argos*, he was forced to retire becauſe not one of the Citizens appeared to aſſiſt him, ſo great and general was their Dread of the Tyrant. *Ariſtomachus* laying hold on this Opportunity to ſatiate his Cruelty, pretended that ſeveral of the *Argives* were in Confederacy with the *Achæans*, and cauſed fourſcore of the moſt conſiderable Men in the City to be murdered, after he had firſt tortured them in the preſence of their Parents, and neareſt Relations. Was not This the Action of a very wicked Perſon? It is true he afterwards abdicated the Tyranny at the Perſuaſion of *Aratus*, Upon which the *Achæans* forgave him all his paſt Crimes, gave him a Share in the Adminiſtration, and made him even General of their Forces. But the Moment he ſaw a Glimpſe of more favourable Expectations from *Cleomenes*, he forgot this Humanity of the *Achæans*, ſeparated Himſelf and his Country from the League in the day of their greateſt Diſtreſs, and declared for their Enemies, ſo that when once they had taken him they thought it reaſonable to carry him up and down throughout *Peloponneſus*, and having in that manner expoſed him to the whole World, they condemned him to an open publick Puniſhment. And yet wicked as this Man was he ſuffered no other Puniſhment than to be drowned in the Sea for ſomething he had done at *Cenchreæ*. This is *Aratus*'s Apology, and deſerved to have been taken Notice of by *Plutarch*.

highly

highly blamed for ſuffering a Perſon to dye unjuſtly, who was no ill Man, with whom he had had many Dealings, and who at His Perſuaſion had abdicated the Tyranny, and prevailed upon his City to unite itſelf to the *Achæan* Community. He was charged likewiſe with ſeveral other Things, as that it was at His Inſtigation that the *Achæans* delivered up the Citadel of *Corinth* to *Antigonus* with as little concern as if it had been an inconſiderable Village; that after they had ſacked *Orchomenum* He ſuffered them to put into it a Garriſon of *Macedonians*; that they made a Decree importing that no Letters nor Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to any other King, without the Conſent of *Antigonus*; that they were forced to maintain the *Macedonian* Garriſon; that they made Sacrifices, Feaſts, and Games in Honour of *Antigonus*, His Citizens ſetting the firſt Example, receiving *Antigonus* into the City at the Inſtigation and Advice of *Aratus*, who entertained him in his own Houſe. All theſe Miſcarriages they charged him with, not conſidering, that having once put the Reins into *Antigonus*'s Hands, he was now hurryed along by the Impetuoſity of the Regal Power, being Maſter of nothing but his Tongue, the Liberty of which it was not very ſafe for him to exerciſe. For it was very plain, that *Aratus* was much troubled at ſeveral Things, eſpecially at That which related to the Statues. *Antigonus* reſtored all Thoſe of the Tyrants in *Argos*, which had been diſplaced by *Aratus*, and on the contrary removed all the Statues of Such, who had at any time ſurprized the Citadel of *Corinth*, That only of *Aratus* Himſelf excepted, nor could all his Remonſtrances and Entreaties divert him from that Reſolution. Beſides the Uſage of the *Mantineans*, by the *Achæans*, ſeems not to ſavour of the *Græcian* Moderation and Humanity; for being Maſters of their City by the Help of *Antigonus*, they put to Death the

the chief and moſt noted Men amongſt them: And for the reſt, Some of them they ſold, Others they ſent bound in Fetters into *Macedonia*, and made Slaves of their Wives and Children. The Money raiſed hereby was a third part of it divided amongſt Themſelves, and the other two Thirds were diſtributed among the *Macedonians*. (1) But This ſeems to have been done by a certain ſort of Legal Revenge; for although it be a barbarous thing for Men of the ſame Nation and Blood thus to butcher one another in their Fury, yet Neceſſity makes it, as *Simonides* ſays, ſweet and ſomething excuſable, being the propereſt Remedy to appeaſe and ſatisfie inflamed and exaſperated Minds. But for what was afterwards done to that City, *Aratus* can never be excuſed upon any account, either of Reaſon or Neceſſity; for the *Argives* having the City freely beſtowed on them by *Antigonus*, and reſolving to People it, He being then choſen the Director of that Affair, and being General at that time, decreed, that it ſhould no more be called *Mantinea*, but *Antigonea*, which Name it ſtill bears. Thus it ſhould ſeem that by His Means *Mantinea*, *the Beautiful Mantinea*, as *Homer* calls it, became ex-

(1) For the *Mantineans* had before That ſent, and demanded a Garriſon of the *Achæans*, to protect them from the *Lacedæmonians*. Upon This the *Achæans*, ſent them three hundred of their own Citizens, and two hundred foreign Soldiers. Some time after, the *Mantineans* in a moſt deteſtable perfidious manner murdered that very Garriſon, which they had ſo earneſtly begged of the *Achæans*. What is there ſuch Miſcreants did not deſerve? And yet when the *Achæans* had retaken their City, they only ſuffered in the Plunder of their Goods, and the Sale of ſome of the Inhabitants. What *Plutarch* ſaith concerning the Death of the chief and moſt noted Men amongſt them is a Falſity vented by *Phylarchus*, who was reſolved to blacken *Aratus* and the *Achæans* at the Expence of Truth itſelf. But allowing all he ſaith to be true, *Polybius* makes it appear that there was nothing Severe, or even Cruel, which the *Mantineans* had not deſerved at the Hands of *Aratus* and the *Achæans*, and if they did not puſh their Revenge on to the utmoſt Extremity it was an Act of Moderation owing to their Humanity.

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tinct, (1) and that another City was erected in its Place, bearing the Name of Him who had deſtroyed and expelled her Inhabitants.

Some time after This *Cleomenes* being overthrown in a great Battel near *Sellaſia*, forſook the City of *Sparta* and fled into *Ægypt*, and *Antigonus* having ſhewn all manner of Civility and Kindneſs to *Aratus* retired into *Macedonia*, upon Advice that the *Illyrians* had made an Irruption into that Country; and falling ſick there he declared *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, a very Youth, his Succeſſor, ſent him into *Peloponneſus*, and ordered him above all things to adhere to *Aratus*, and to be guided by his Direction and Advice in all his Tranſactions with the Cities, and when he had a mind to make himſelf known to the *Achæans*. *Aratus* received him with the greateſt Honour, and managed him with ſo much Wiſdom and Judgment that he ſent him back into *Macedonia* full of Sentiments of Affection and Reſpect to Him, and in the moſt favourable Diſpoſitions for the Intereſt of *Greece*.

After the Death of *Antigonus* (2) the *Ætolians* began to deſpiſe the Indolence and Inactivity of the *Achæans*, for being accuſtomed to defend themſelves by the Arms of Foreigners, and to crouch under the *Macedonian* Enſigns, they led an idle Life, without the leaſt Regard to any manner of Diſcipline. (3) This encouraged the *Ætolians* to aim

(1) *Plutarch* takes all Occaſions to manifeſt his Affection to *Greece*. No greater Indignity can be offered to a City than to deprive it of its own Name, and impoſe on it That of the Perſon who had been the chief Promoter of its Ruin.

(2) *Polybius* in his fourth Book tells us that after *Cleomenes* had been driven out of his Kingdom, the *Peloponneſians*, who were tired with the late Wars, and imagined the preſent Tranquillity was to continue for ever, entirely neglected the uſe of Arms, and all military Occupations. By This it appears of what Importance it is to keep the People trained and exerciſed even in times of the greateſt Tranquillity.

(3) The *Ætolians* had of a long time been Enemies to Peace, becauſe

aim at the Dominion of *Peloponneſus*. They entered into it in an hoſtile manner, and in their March plundered the Territories of *Patræ* and *Dyme*, after which they fell upon *Meſſene*, and miſerably waſted all the adjacent Country. *Aratus*, incenſed at this Inſolence and Treachery, (1) and perceiving that *Timoxenes* who was Captain-General for the Year acted dilatorily, and ſpun out the Time becauſe his Authority was near expiring, He, who was to command for the enſuing Year, anticipated his Authority by five Days, on purpoſe to march to the Succour of the *Meſſenians*. Having therefore muſtered the *Achæans*, whoſe Bodies were neither trained and hardened in the Exerciſe of Arms, nor their Minds diſpoſed for the War, (2) he was overthrown

cauſe in times of Peace they were forced to maintain Themſelves, whereas it was cuſtomary with them to live by Rapine. *Antigonus* kept 'em in Awe whilſt He lived, but after His death they deſpiſed the Minority of *Philip*, and ſought a Pretence to fall out with the *Peloponneſians*. Polyb. lib. iv.

(1) *Timoxenes* was againſt this Expedition, becauſe he expected little from the *Achæans*, for the Reaſons before mentioned; and as his Office of General was to expire in five days he was glad to ſpin out the time. But *Aratus* fired at this Inſolence of the *Ætolians*, took up the Cudgels, and having received the Seals from *Timoxenes* he diſpatch'd his Letters immediately to all the Cities, requiring all the Youth capable of bearing Arms to meet him by a day appointed at *Megalopolis*. *Timoxenes* is not to be blamed for declining to truſt the Safety of his Country to Troops of whoſe Sloth and Cowadice he was ſo well aſſured, eſpecially conſidering that at the end of five days he was of courſe to quit his Command.

(2) When the Reader is told that *Aratus* was beaten near *Caphya*, and accuſed of acting with more Heat than Prudence, he is at a ſtand, and not a jot wiſer than he was before. *Plutarch*, who was writing a Life only, did not think it incumbent on Him to be more particular, and to mention ſeverally the Errors charged upon *Aratus*. But *Polybius*, who was writing a Hiſtory, thought it became Him not to omit ſo material a Circumſtance, which was ſo neceſſary to the Information of his Readers. After having given a particular Account of the Action he draws into one point of View the Errors imputed to *Aratus*, which may deſerve to be laid before the Reader.

The firſt thing he is charged with

thrown near *Caphyæ*; and being accuſed of having acted on that Occaſion with more Heat than Prudence, he as ſoon ran into the other Extream, Cooling and Deſponding at that rate, that he let paſs and overlooked all the fair Opportunities of Advantage given him (1) by the *Ætolians*, who now ſported and junketed, as it were throughout *Peloponneſus*, with all manner of Inſolence and Licentiouſneſs. Wherefore praying once more the Aſſiſtance of the *Macedonians*, they drew in and in-

with is his taking upon him the Command before his time, and running headlong into an Enterprize the Event of which he could not but know was doubtful.

The ſecond was disbanding the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* at an unſeaſonable time, when he ſaw the *Ætolians* in the Heart of *Peloponneſus*, upon a groundleſs Belief that they would ſoon retire, and return home.

The third Article brought againſt him was his engaging with too few Troops, though he had it in his Power to draw off without any Hazard into the neighbouring Towns, where he might raiſe more Forces, and give the Enemy Battel when he found it expedient or neceſſary.

The laſt, and indeed the heavieſt, was that after he had reſolved upon fighting he acted with too little Conduct and a great deal of Imprudence, for he ſent his Cavalry and light Arms to attack the Enemy's Rear after their Front had gained the Hill. Whereas he ought to have encountered the Front at firſt whilſt they were in the Plain, where he would have had the Advantage of them, and might have had reaſon to expect his heavy-armed Soldiers would have done him great Service.

Theſe were the Heads of the Accuſation, to which *Aratus* put in his Anſwer, and proved that the Loſs, with which they charged him, ought not to be imputed to any ill Conduct in Him; adding, that if he had not acted in every Circumſtance as became an experienced General he asked Pardon, and begged them to weigh his Actions with leſs Rigour than Indulgence. This Modeſty turned the whole Aſſembly in his Favour, and directed the Edge of their Reſentment againſt his Accuſers; ſo that they adhered to his Counſel and Advice in all their future Undertakings.

(1) *Polybius* obſerves in plain terms that ever after This he acted more like a grave Citizen than an experienced General; that the Memory of his late Loſs made him keep aloof, without attempting any thing; that he let the *Ætolians* live at Diſcretion, and ſuffered them to retire at their eaſe, though they made their Retreat through narrow Paſſes, where almoſt the very ſound of a Trumpet would have defeated them.

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troduced *Philip* to intermeddle in the Affairs of *Greece*, hoping that by reaſon of his Confidence in *Aratus*, and the Friendſhip he had for him, they ſhould find him very tractable, and to be managed as They pleaſed.

But the King being over-perſuaded by *Apelles*, *Megalæus*, and other Courtiers, who endeavoured to ruin the Credit *Aratus* had with him, prevailed upon him to favour the contrary Faction, and get *Eperatus* choſen General by the *Achæans*; but this *Eperatus* falling into the loweſt degree of Contempt, and *Aratus* taking no farther Care of Affairs, all things went to Rack; upon which *Philip* finding his Miſtake, reconciled himſelf to *Aratus*, and was wholly His, and his Affairs increaſing both in Power and Reputation, he depended upon Him for the Augmentation of Both. *Aratus* hereby giving a proof to the World that he was as good a Nurſing Father of a Kingdom, as he had been of a Republick; for the Actions of the King had in them the Touch and Colour of His Judgment and Temper; (1) for the Moderation ſhewed by this young

(1) The *Lacedæmonians* being deſirous to alter their Form of Government and reduce it to a Democracy, murdered *Adimas* one of their *Ephori*, and ſome Others who were in the King's Intereſt. The *Ephori* ſent their Embaſſadors to *Philip* who was juſt come out of *Macedon*, to juſtify the Action. Theſe Embaſſadors met the King near Mount *Parthenia*. *Philip* ordered them to return to *Lacedæmon*, and commanded the *Ephori* to ſend to meet him at *Tegæa* ſome Perſons qualified to confer with him on the preſent Poſture of Affairs. The *Ephori* ſent to him ten of the principal Men in *Sparta*, who were introduced into the Council, where when they had accuſed *Adimas* of all the Diſorders, and made great Proteſtations of their Fidelity to *Philip*, they were ordered to retire. The Council were divided in their Opinion of what was proper to be done in that Caſe. The major Part, convinced of the Diſaffection of the *Lacedæmonians*, and knowing that *Adimas* was ſlain purely becauſe he was in *Philip*'s Intereſt, and that they were inclined to enter into Alliance with the *Ætolians*, adviſed the King to make an Example of them, and treat them in the ſame Manner as *Alexander* had treated the *Thebans*.

young Prince to the *Lacedæmonians*, who had incurred his Diſpleaſure, and his courteous Affability to the *Cretans*, by which in a few Days he brought over the whole Iſland to his Obedience, and his Expedition againſt the *Ætolians*, ſo wonderfully ſucceſsful, (1) brought *Philip* into great Reputation for knowing how to take good Advice, and to *Aratus* for giving it. This ſerved only to aggravate the Envy and Jealouſy of the Courtiers, who finding they could not prevail againſt him by their ſecret Practices, began openly to abuſe and affront him in their Debauches, with extraordinary Petulancy and Impudence; ſo that once they threw Stones at him as he retired from Supper to his Tent. At which *Philip* being extreamly offended, immediately fined them twenty Talents;

bans. Others of the Council, among whom were the moſt Ancient, remonſtrated that the Puniſhment was greater than the Crime deſerved, and thought it would be ſufficient if the King chaſtiſed the Authors of the Sedition; deprived them of their Offices, and gave them to ſome of his own Creatures. When it came to the King's turn to give his Opinion, he ſaid, that he was no ways perſonally concerned in the Offences committed by the Allies againſt one another, and therefore it was fit for Him only to write to them, and exhort them to return to their Duty, and let them know he had an Eye upon their Behaviour. That if any thing was done in Prejudice of the Alliance in general, That being a common Concern, the Alliance in general were to reſent and puniſh it. That as the *Lacedæmonians* had done nothing openly in breach of that Alliance, and promiſing to ſubmit to any Terms that ſhall be thought juſt and reaſonable on their Part, it would not be well in Him to come to any violent Reſolutions againſt them; but on the contrary it would look ſtrange that when his Father, after he had conquered them as Enemies, dealt very graciouſly with them, if He who was their Ally ſhould for ſo ſmall a Cauſe execute ſo terrible a Vengeance upon them. This Anſwer, full of Wiſdom and Humanity as we find it at large in *Polybius*, is attributed by that Author to *Aratus*, becauſe it is not probable that a young Prince, no more than ſeventeen Years of Age, ſhould be able to ſpeak of Himſelf with ſo much Prudence and Moderation.

(1) *Homer* ſaith ſomewhere in his *Iliad* that good Advice redounds as much to the Honour of the Man who follows it, as of Him who gives it.

and finding afterwards that they ſtill troubled and diſturbed his Affairs, he put them to death. But not long after being puffed up with his Proſperity, the natural Depravity of his Temper, which had lain long concealed, began to break out like an Impoſthume, diſcharging itſelf in all the odious Symptoms of an abandoned vicious Inclination. In the firſt place he injured in the higheſt degree *Aratus* the Younger, in corrupting his Wife. The Intriegue lay concealed for a long time, becauſe he was lodged in the ſame Houſe with them, upon the Invitation of *Aratus*.

After This he grew more intractable and ſevere to the ſeveral Cities and Communities, and it was eaſily ſeen that he intended no longer to be directed by *Aratus*, to whom he ſhewed great Coolneſs and Indifference. The Beginning of this Alienation was owing to a Miſunderſtanding in *Meſſene*, the Inhabitants of which City quarrelling among Themſelves, *Aratus* marched upon the firſt Notice to put a Stop to the Sedition; but he got thither a day after *Philip*, who the Moment he arrived inſtead of appeaſing the Inhabitants endeavoured to irritate them ſtill more againſt one Another. On the one Hand he asked the Magiſtrates if they were not enabled by Law to keep the People in Obedience, and on the Other he asked the Ringleaders of the Sedition if they wanted Hands to help themſelves againſt their Oppreſſors. Thus both Parties placing their Confidence in Him, and thinking him ſafe to their Intereſt, the Magiſtrates attempted to ſeize the Heads of the Faction, and They ſtirring up the People againſt the Magiſtrates ſlew Them, and many more of the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the City with them, inſomuch that there were near two hundred ſlain in that Sedition.

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By that time *Philip* had perpetrated this Inhuman Action, and aggravated the Sedition, *Aratus* arrived. From the very firſt he plainly ſhewed that he reſented this Proceeding in *Philip*, and ſuffered his Son, without ſilencing him, to reproach him with a great deal of Acrimony, and in very injurious Language. It appeared that this young Man was in love with *Philip*, but breaking out upon this Occaſion he told him in plain terms *that he no longer appeared beautiful to him after the Commiſſion of ſo villainous an Action, but on the contrary very ugly.* To all which *Philip* gave him no Anſwer, though he appeared much nettled, and muttered often to himſelf whilſt he was ſpeaking; but for the Elder *Aratus*, ſeeming to take all that He ſaid in good part, being alſo by Nature crafty, and having a good Command of himſelf, he gave him his Hand and led him out of the Theater, and carried him with him to *Ithome*, to Sacrifice there to *Jupiter*, and take a view of the Place; for it is a Poſt as ſtrong as the Citadel of *Corinth*, and with a good Garriſon can command, and annoy the neighbouring Country, and is almoſt impregnable. *Philip* therefore went up into this Caſtle, to offer Sacrifice, and when the Prieſt preſented him with the Entrails of the Ox he took them in both his Hands, and ſhewed them to *Demetrius Pharius*, and *Aratus*, asking firſt One, and then the Other *what they judged by the Tokens in the Sacrifice it were beſt for him to do with the Fort, whether to keep it for himſelf, or reſtore it to the* Meſſenians. *Demetrius* ſmiling anſwered him, (1) *If you have in you the Soul of a Prieſt you will reſtore it, but if of a Prince you will*

(1) As if none but Prieſts were to give heed to the Tokens appearing on the Entrails of the Victims, and That Prince muſt have the Soul of a Prieſt who can be true to his Word. However this Saying will always have its Weight among our Court Politicians.

hold the Ox by both the Horns. By which *Ænigma* he gave him to underſtand that *Peloponneſus* would be wholly at his Devotion, if he added *Ithome* to the *Acro-corinthus*. *Aratus* ſaid not a word of a good while, but *Philip* entreating him to declare his Opinion, he ſpoke thus. *There are* (1) *many and great Hills in* Crete, *and many Rocks in* Bœotia *and* Phocis, *and many inexpugnable Places are there both near the Sea, and in the Mid-land in* Acarnania, *none of which have you taken by main Force, and yet all theſe People pay you a voluntary Obedience. It is for Thieves to neſt themſelves in Rocks and Precipices, but the ſtrongeſt Fort a King can have is Sweetneſs, Truth, and Humanity, which ſecure to him the Fidelity and Affection of the People. Theſe Qualities have opened to you the* Cretian *Sea, Theſe have made you Maſter of* Peloponneſus, *and by the help of Theſe, young as you are, you are become Captain of the One, and Lord of the Other.* (2) He was going on at this rate when *Philip* returned the Entrails to the Prieſt, and pulling *Aratus* along with him by the Hand, *Come on then*, ſaid he, *let us go as we came*;

(1) This Anſwer of *Aratus* is more confined in *Polybius*, who relates it in his own Terms, lib. vii. *If you can keep it without violating your Faith given to the* Meſſenians, *keep it in God's Name; but if in leaving a Garriſon here you loſe all the other Citadels and Fortreſſes, and deprive yourſelf of the Garriſon left you by* Antigonus, *which hath hitherto preſerved your Allies firm and conſtant to you,* meaning his obſerving his Word and Promiſe, *conſider well if it will not be more expedient for your Affairs to diſcharge this Garriſon of Men, and leave it to be kept by Faith and Honeſty, which will be able to make you ſure not only of* Meſſena *but of all the reſt of your Allies. Plutarch* has given a fuller Scope to this Anſwer, the better to enforce the Senſe, and make it more inſtructive, by rendering it more intelligible.

(2) *Polybius* obſerves that if *Philip* had purſued his own Sentiments he had violated his Faith, as it afterwards manifeſtly appeared, but he had not the Confidence to oppoſe this lively Remonſtrance of *Aratus*. So true it is that a bold generous Saying can make an Impreſſion even upon Perſons the moſt profligate and abandoned.

as

as if he thought himſelf forced by Him, and deprived of the Town.

From this time *Aratus* began to withdraw from Court, and retired by degrees from *Philip*'s Company; for when he was preparing to march into *Epirus*, and deſired Him to accompany him thither, he excuſed himſelf and ſtayed at home, apprehending that he ſhould get nothing but Diſcredit by his Actions. But afterwards when he had ſhamefully loſt his Fleet in his War againſt the *Romans*, and miſcarried in all his Deſigns, he returned into *Peloponneſus*, where he endeavoured firſt to win the *Meſſenians* by his Artifices, but failing therein, he fell openly to ſpoil and waſte their Country; then *Aratus* fell out with him downright, and utterly renounced his Friendſhip. For by this time he began to ſmell out the Injuries done to his Son in his Wife, and though they vexed him to the Heart, yet he concealed them from Him, for he could only let him know he had been abuſed, but could not help him to the Means of Revenge; for ſtrange and unexpected was the Change made in *Philip*, who of a mild King, and modeſt and chaſte Youth, became a laſcivious Man and moſt cruel Tyrant. But This was not ſo much a real Change in his Nature as a Manifeſtation of his Vice, which Fear had obliged him to keep concealed at firſt, and to which at laſt he gave full Scope when he thought himſelf in a Condition to act with Licence and Impunity. For that the Reſpect he at firſt bore to *Aratus* had a great Allay of Fear and Awe, appears evidently from what he did to him at laſt. For being deſirous to put him to death, not thinking himſelf, whilſt he was alive, to be at liberty either as King or Tyrant; he durſt not attempt to do it by open Force, but commanded *Taurion*, one of his Captains and Familiars, to make him away ſecretly, and That by Poi-

ſon during his Abſence. *Taurion* therefore contracted a Friendſhip with *Aratus*, and gave him a Doſe not of ſtrong and violent Poiſons, but ſuch as cauſe gentle hectical Heats, and a hollow Cough, and ſo by degrees bring on certain Death. *Aratus* perceived what was done to him, but knowing that it was to no purpoſe to complain, he bore it patiently and with ſilence, as if it had been ſome common and uſual Diſtemper. Only once whilſt a Friend of his was with him in his Chamber he ſpit ſome Blood, which his Friend obſerving and wondering at, *Theſe*, *O* Cephalon, ſaid he, *are the Fruits of the Friendſhip of Kings.* Thus he died in *Ægium*, in his ſeventeenth Generalſhip. The *Achæans* were very deſirous that he ſhould be buried there, with a Funeral and Monument ſuitable to the Glory of his Actions; but the *Sicyonians* believing it a Diſhonour to them, if he were interred any where but in Their City, prevailed with the *Achæans* to grant them the Diſpoſal of the Body.

But there being an ancient Law forbidding any Perſon to be buried within the Walls of their City, which Law had been conſtantly obſerved by a ſuperſtitious Punctuality, they ſent to *Delphi* to conſult the *Pythioneſs*, who returned them this Oracle:

Thou ask'ſt, Sicyon, Aratus' *Reſting-Place*,
If thee his Urn and Funeral Rites ſhall grace:
Who grudges him the light Earth where he lies
Is the Diſgrace o'th' Sea, the Land, and Skies.

When this Oracle was known at *Sicyon* the whole Body of the *Achæans* rejoyced much at it, but eſpecially the *Sicyonians*, who changing their Mourning into publick Joy, immediately removed the Body from *Ægium*, and in a kind of ſolemn Proceſſion brought it into the City, with Songs and

and Dances, crowned with Garlands, and arrayed in white Garments. As ſoon as they were arrived they made Choice of the moſt conſpicuous Place in the City, where they interred Him, whom they conſidered as its Founder and Preſerver. The Place is to this Day called *Aratium*, and there they yearly make two ſolemn Sacrifices to him, the One on the Day he delivered the City from Tyranny, being the fifth Day of the Month *Daiſium*, which the *Athenians* call *Antheſterion*; and This Sacrifice they call *Soteria*; the Other on his Birth-day; now the firſt of theſe was performed by the Prieſt of *Jupiter Soter*, the ſecond by the Prieſt of *Aratus*, wearing a Linnen Girdle not pure white but mingled with Purple. The Hymns were ſung to the Harp by the Choir belonging to *Bacchus*; the Proceſſion was led up by the Rector of the *Gymnaſium*, with the Boys and young Men, Theſe were followed by the Senate wearing Garlands, and other Citizens ſuch as pleaſed, whereof ſome ſmall Footſteps remain to this Day. But the greateſt part of the Ceremonies hath through Time, and other intervening Accidents, been diſuſed. And ſuch, as Hiſtory tells us, was the Life and Manners of *the Elder Aratus*. And for *the Younger*, *Philip*, abominably wicked by Nature, and cruelly inſulting, gave him ſuch poiſonous Medicines, as though they did not kill him outright, yet they made him run ſtark mad, and drove him upon moſt horrid and abominable Attempts, raiſing in him a ſtrong Appetite to commit Actions, and gratify Paſſions the moſt abſurd and infamous. Inſomuch that though he was young, and in the Flower of his Age, his Death could not be looked upon as a Misfortune, but rather a Deliverance and the End of his Miſery. But *Philip* paid dearly, all the reſt of his Life, for theſe Violations of Friendſhip and Hoſpitality; for being overcome by the *Romans* he

was forced to lie at their Mercy. By Them he was deprived of all the Kingdoms and Provinces he had added to his Paternal Dominions, and conſtrained to ſurrender all his Ships but five, obliged to pay a Fine of a thouſand Talents, and to yield up his Son for an Hoſtage. Out of pure Compaſſion they left to him *Macedonia* and its Dependances, where continually putting to death the nobleſt of his Subjects, and the neareſt Relations he had, he filled the whole Kingdom with Horror and Deteſtation of him. The only Comfort left him among ſo many Diſaſters was a Son, infinitely ſuperior to all other Princes on the ſcore of his Virtues, and of Him he deprived Himſelf. He cauſed him to be murdered out of Envy and Jealouſy of the great Honours he received from the *Romans*, and left his Kingdom to his other Son *Perſeus*, who, as Some ſay, was not legitimate, but born of a Semſtreſs called *Gnathenion*. This was He whom *Paulus Æmilius* led in Triumph, and in whom ended the Royal Race of *Antigonus*. But the Poſterity of *Aratus* continues ſtill in our Days at *Sicyon* and *Pellene*.

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L. Cheron Inv. *Vol: 8: p: 263.* *G. Vander Gucht Sculp.* 49

THE LIFE OF GALBA.

IPhicrates, General of the *Athenians*, ſuppoſed that a Soldier of Fortune ought to be covetous and ſenſual, to put him upon bold Adventures, to lay in a ſtock to gratifie his Luſts; but Moſt were of Opinion, that the Body of an Army, as well as the natural one (tho' never ſo ſtrong) ſhould make no Efforts apart, but in compliance with their Head. Wherefore they tell us, that *Paulus Æmilius* recruiting his Forces in *Macedonia*, and finding them talkative, and impertinently buſie, as though they were all Commanders, iſſued out his Orders that they ſhould have only ready Hands, and keen Swords, and leave the reſt to His Care and Conduct. But *Plato* obſerving nothing ſucceed well under a brave General, unleſs the Army were alſo ſober and tractable, judged, that to obey orderly, as well as to command judiciouſly, required a generous Temper, with conſtant Diſcipline and Exerciſe, chiefly to allay their hot Spirits

Spirits and active Humour, with Gentleneſs and Civility: And indeed ſundry ſad Inſtances elſewhere, as well as amongſt the *Romans*, after the Death of *Nero*, are plain Proofs, that nothing is more dangerous than a Military Power, unskilfully managed; therefore *Demades*, after the Death of *Alexander*, compared the *Macedonian* Army to the *Cyclops Polyphemus*, after his Eye was out, ſeeing their many diſorderly and giddy Motions. (1) But the *Roman* Empire fell into all the mad convulſive Motions of the *Titans*, ſuch as they are repreſented to us by the Poets, broken in Pieces by Rebellion, and turning her Arms into her own Bowels, not ſo much by the Ambition of the Emperor, as the Covetouſneſs and Extravagancy of the Soldiers, which made them puſh out One after Another for their own Advantage.

Dionyſius the Tyrant of *Sicily*, ſpeaking of *Pheræus*, who was murdered after he had reigned in *Theſſaly* for the ſpace of Ten Months only, calls him the Tyrant of a Tragedy, comparing the ſudden Change of his Condition to That of a Scene on the Stage. But the Imperial Palace of the *Cæſars* in *Rome* had no leſs than four Emperors in a ſhorter ſpace, the Soldiers forcing an *Exit* upon the One, and giving an Entrance to the Other, as if they had been real Actors on the Theatre. It is true that the *Romans*, who were great Sufferers by their Changes, had at leaſt this Conſolation, that they wanted no other Vengeance upon the Authors of all their Miſeries than what they executed upon Themſelves. It muſt be ſome ſort of Pleaſure to behold them Butcher one another, and ſee Him fall the firſt, as he well deſerved, who firſt ſeduced

(1) This is a lively Image, and exact to the Purpoſe. *Tacitus* in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory gives us an admirable Deſcription of the State of the *Roman* Empire at that time, and of the extravagant Commotions with which it was agitated.

them,

them, and made them hope for all he could promiſe by a Change, at the ſame time blackening and diſgracing an Action ſo glorious in it ſelf, as was the Revolt againſt *Nero*, (1) which he debaſed into Treaſon by the Pay he received for it. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, who, (2) as we have obſerved before, was joined in Commiſſion with *Tigillinus*, as Captain of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, obſerving the Affairs of *Nero* to be in a deſperate Condition, and that *Nero* Himſelf was upon the point of flying into *Ægypt*, perſuaded the Army to declare *Galba* Emperor, as if *Nero* had already abdicated, promiſed every Soldier of the *Prætorian* Cohorts ſeven thouſand five hundred Drachmas, and to the reſt of the Army that lay quartered up and down in the Provinces twelve hundred and fifty a-piece. Which amounted to a Sum ſo immenſe that it would have been impoſſible to have raiſed it, without burdening the Subject infinitely more than even *Nero* had done during the whole Courſe of his Reign. This preſently diſpatched *Nero*, and ſoon after *Galba* too. They murdered the Firſt, in Expectation of the promiſed Sum; and not long after the Other, becauſe he did not make good what had been promiſed to them. Thus whilſt they were in ſearch after a Man, who would give them as much as they had been made to expect, they waſted themſelves, and conſumed away inſenſibly in Revolts and Treaſons. But to relate in order every particular Fact and Incident as it happened is the Buſineſs of a Perſon who is writing

(1) This Sentiment of *Plutarch* is very juſt. A Revolt againſt a Tyrant is never allowable but when it is undertaken for the ſake of the People, and to free Them from his Cruelty. It becomes Treaſon when it is influenced and promoted by Views purely mercenary.

(2) We find no mention of it in any of his Writings that remain. Without doubt it was in the Life of *Nero*, which was written by *Plutarch*, and is now loſt.

a compleat Hiſtory; but for Me, who am no other than a Biographer, it will ſuffice if I lay before the Reader ſome of the moſt remarkable Circumſtances that occur in the Lives of theſe *Cæſars*.

It is a thing known, and confeſſed by all Hiſtorians, that *Sulpitius Galba* was, of a private Man, the moſt wealthy of any that ever aſpired to the Imperial Dignity. And tho' he valued himſelf much upon his Birth, being deſcended from the Family of the *Servii*, yet he valued himſelf much more upon his Relation to *Q. Catulus Capitolinus*, who was the firſt Man in his time for Virtue and Reputation, tho' he voluntarily reſigned to Others the firſt Rank in Power and Authority.

Galba was ſomewhat a-kin to *Livia* the Wife of *Auguſtus*, by whoſe Intereſt he was preferred from the Station he held in the Palace to the Dignity of Conſul. It is ſaid of him that he honourably diſcharged his Command in *Germany*, (1) and being made Proconſul in *Libya*, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf even among Thoſe who had gained the greateſt Reputation in that Province. But his narrow parcimonious Way of living, his Averſion to all Superfluity and Exceſs, paſſed for Avarice as ſoon as he became Emperor, and the Pride he took in his Temperance and Oeconomy was unſeaſonable. He was entruſted by *Nero* with the Government of *Spain*, before that Prince had learnt to revere Thoſe who had the greateſt Power and Authority in the City. And as *Galba* appeared naturally to be of a ſoft gentle Temper, it was expected from his Age that he would diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs by his

(1) He governed *Africk* two Years in quality of Proconſul, having been extraordinarily named to it as the fitteſt Perſon to be ſent to compoſe the Affairs of that Province, which had been afflicted by inteſtine Diviſions, and the Inroads of the *Barbarians*. He reſtored it to its former Order and Tranquility, with a great deal of Prudence, and neceſſary Severity.

Judgment

Judgment and Prudence. (1) The Emperor's Officers, a moſt pernicious Race of Men, oppreſſed the Provinces with the utmoſt Cruelty; and it was not in *Galba*'s Power to redreſs them, but he gave them manifeſt Tokens of his tender Concern for their Sufferings, wherein he ſympathized with them; and This at leaſt was ſome ſort of Comfort and Conſolation to thoſe poor Wretches, even when they were ſtripped of all they had, and ſold into Slavery.

At that time when there were ſeveral bitter Lampoons handed about againſt *Nero*, and ſung every where, *Galba* took no care to ſuppreſs them, or proſecute the Authors and Promoters of them, which thoſe Officers did with great Severity. This made him ſtill more beloved by the Natives, with Some of whom he had contracted a ſort of Friendſhip and Familiarity during the time of his Government among them, which held for Eight Years, 'till *Junius Vindex*, who commanded in *Gaul*, revolted againſt *Nero*.

We are told that before the Deſign was thoroughly ripe, *Vindex* communicated it to *Galba*, who neither countenanced nor diſcovered it, as did ſeveral of the Governors in the other Provinces, to whom *Vindex* had likewiſe communicated it by his Letters, which They immediately ſent to *Nero*, and ſo as much as in Them lay ruined the whole Undertaking, wherein they Themſelves being afterwards proved Accomplices they were forced to confeſs that they had betrayed Themſelves as well as *Vindex*.

But when *Vindex* had openly declared War againſt *Nero* he wrote once more to *Galba*, and exhorted him *to take the Government upon him, and*

(1) Theſe were called *Procuratores Principis*, Officers ſent by the Emperors into the ſeveral Provinces to collect the Tribute and all the other Duties belonging to the Revenue.

place

place himſelf at the Head of the Gauls, *who wanted a Leader, and were already a Body of a Hundred thouſand armed Men, and were able to raiſe a greater Force upon Occaſion.*

Galba called a Council of his Friends, to adviſe with them upon this Overture; moſt of them were of Opinion that he ought to wait, and ſee how *Rome* ſtood inclined, before he declared. But *Titus Vinius*, Captain of one of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, ſtood up, and ſaid, *What room is there here for Deliberation?* (1) *It is the higheſt Act of Infidelity even to queſtion whether we ſhall remain faithful to* Nero. *There is no Medium; you muſt either embrace the Propoſition of* Vindex, *and look on* Nero *as your declared Enemy, or accuſe him this Inſtant, and march to ſuppreſs him, ſince he had rather have* Galba *for Emperor of the* Romans, *than* Nero *for your Tyrant.* Thereupon *Galba* by an Edict appointed a certain Day for enfranchiſing all Thoſe who requeſted it. The Rumour of this Publication ſoon brought together a great Crowd of Men ſo readily inclined to Innovations, that he could ſcarce mount the Tribunal before he was with an univerſal Acclamation ſaluted Emperor. He refuſed to take the Title upon him at firſt; but after he had bitterly inveighed againſt *Nero*, and bemoaned the loſs of thoſe brave Men who had been deſtroyed by him, he declared *that he devoted himſelf to the Service of his Country, not under thoſe ſpecious Titles of* Cæſar, *or Emperor, but only as Lieutenant to the Senate and People.*

(1) According to this Maxim in *Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant deſciverunt.* For if we once deliberate whether we ſhall be true to our Oath or not we in that very inſtant break it. It is a fine Anſwer *Agrippinus* returned to *Florus*, who asked him, *Shall I go with* Nero *to the Theatre, and dance on the Stage with him? Go*, replied *Agrippinus. And you*, ſaid *Florus, why do not you go too? Becauſe*, ſaid *Agrippinus, I never deliberated about it.* Epict. ii. Maxim. lib. i. Max. xiii.

Now

Now that *Vindex* did wiſely in inviting *Galba* to the Empire, *Nero* himſelf bore Teſtimony; for though he ſeemed to deſpiſe Him, and to be in no degree apprehenſive of the *Gauls*, yet he no ſooner heard of *Galba*'s Motions, of which he happened to receive Intelligence juſt as he had bathed, and was ſat down to Supper, but in great Fury he overturned the Table. But the Moment the Senate had declared *Galba* an Enemy to the State, he grew witty upon the Subject, and with an Air of Confidence ſaid to his Friends, *This is what I wanted. I have been long at a loſs for a Pretence of raiſing Money, and now I have it. I have no ſooner conquered the* Gauls, *but all their Wealth is Mine; in the mean time I will lay my Hand upon* Galba's *Eſtate, ſince He is a declared Enemy, and diſpoſe of it as I think fit.* Accordingly he that inſtant commanded it to be put up to Auction.

The Moment *Galba* was informed of This He likewiſe expoſed to Sale *Nero*'s Eſtate in *Spain*, and found a greater Number of Buyers. *Nero* being thus forſaken by all the World, who declared for *Galba*, there was only *Clodius Macer*, who commanded in *Africa*, and *Virginius Rufus* General of the Army in *Germany*, who acted ſeparately, and with different Views, for they were not Both determined to the ſame Point. *Clodius*, who was conſcious of many Enormities, and knew himſelf guilty of Rapine and Murder, to which his unbounded Avarice and Cruelty had prompted him, knew not what Meaſures were fitting for him to take; wherefore in that Uncertainty he neither would accept, nor reject the Imperial Title: and *Virginius*, who had under his Command ſome of the beſt Legions in the Empire, and had been often preſſed by them to take upon him the Title of Emperor, declared, that he would not only refuſe

fuſe it Himſelf, but ſuffer no one elſe to aſſume it, who was not elected to it by the Senate.

Theſe things at firſt exceedingly perplexed *Galba*; but after the two Armies of *Virginius* and *Vindex* had forced their Chiefs, like two Charioteers who have no longer the Reins at their Command, to come to a Battel, and *Vindex* after the Loſs of twenty thouſand *Gauls*, who were killed upon the Spot, had laid violent Hands on Himſelf, it was reported that the victorious Army importuned *Virginius* to accept of the Empire, threatning in caſe of a Refuſal to return to *Nero*.

Galba, who was terribly alarmed at this Report, wrote to him, exhorting him to join with Him for the Preſervation of the Empire, and the Liberty of the *Romans*. At the ſame time he retired with his Friends to a City in *Spain* called *Colonia*, where he reſided for ſome days, rather repenting of what he had already done, and deſiring a Life of Eaſe and Privacy, to which he had been accuſtomed, than conſidering what was fit to be done for the future. It was now in the Summer Seaſon, when one day one of his Freedmen, a Native of *Sicily*, arrived in ſeven days from *Rome* at *Colonia*, and learning at his Arrival where *Galba* was repoſing himſelf, he went up to the Room, opened the Door, and entering in ſpite of the Grooms, who would have oppoſed him, he told him, *that tho'* Nero *was then living, yet upon his not appearing, firſt the Army, and after Them the Senate, and the People, had declared Him Emperor, and that ſome time after the News was current of the Tyrant's Death.* He added, *that He would not truſt to common Report, but went Himſelf to ſee where he lay, and with his own Eyes beheld him a lifeleſs Lump extended on the Ground, and then haſtened away to bring Him an Account of it.*

Galba

Galba was extreamly revived at this Intelligence. At the ſame time his Door was crowded with a Number of People, to whom he communicated the News he had received, and aſſured them of the Truth of it, tho' the Expedition uſed by the Meſſenger made it ſeem almoſt incredible. But two days after *Titus Vinius* arrived with ſeveral Others from the Camp, and gave him a particular Account of the whole Proceedings. For this good News, (1) *Titus* was advanced to a very honourable Employment, his Freeman had conferred on him the Privilege of wearing the Gold Ring, was named *Marcianus*, inſtead of *Vicellius*, and had more Credit and Authority with *Galba* than any of his Brethren.

In the mean time *Nymphidius Sabinus* uſurped all the Authority at *Rome*, not leiſurely and by Degrees, but all on a ſudden, looking on *Galba* as an infirm Man, and who by reaſon of his extream Age (for he was ſeventy three years old) was unfit for ſuch a Journey, and would never be able to reach *Rome*. Beſides, the *Prætorian* Cohorts had of a long time been well-affected to him, and now eſpecially they were at His Beck, and placed all their Hopes in him, looking on Him as their Benefactor, by reaſon of the immenſe Sums he had promiſed them, whilſt they conſidered *Galba* only as their Debtor.

(1) *Tacitus* ſaith only that he advanced him to a higher Rank, meaning that he made him Conſul. He was of a *Prætorian* Family, and paſſed through all the Offices without Blemiſh. Upon the Expiration of his Prætorſhip he was made Tribune of a Legion, and ſerved honourably. He was afterwards made Governor of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, in which Province he carried himſelf with great Juſtice, and Integrity. But at laſt becoming a Favourite of *Galba*, and one of his firſt Miniſters, he made an ill uſe of his Authority, and expoſed his Maſter to publick Scorn and Indignation. He was ſlain in the End, and received the laſt Offices from the Hands of his Daughter. *Tacit. Hiſt.* lib. 1.

In the firſt Place, preſuming upon his Intereſt, he commanded (1) *Tigellinus*, who was joined in Command with him, to lay down his Commiſſion. After This he made ſeveral magnificent Feaſts for the Entertainment of Thoſe who had been Conſuls, or had commanded in the Army, who were all invited in the Name of *Galba*. At the ſame time he prevailed upon Many in the Camp to addreſs *Galba* that *Nymphidius* might be ſole Commander.

Moreover what the Senate acted, out of Reſpect to him, ſtyling him their Benefactor, attending daily at his Gates, and giving him the Compliment of confirming their Acts, carried him on to a greater degree of Arrogance, ſo that in a ſhort time he became not only to be envied, but even dreaded by his very Adorers. Once when the Conſuls had made uſe of the State Meſſengers to convey the Decrees of the Senate to the Emperor, and had ſealed the Diſpatches with their own Signets, upon ſight of which the Magiſtrates in the ſeveral Towns through which they were to paſs were obliged to furniſh them with Poſt Chaiſes to quicken their ſpeed, he highly reſented it becauſe His Seal was not made uſe of, and none of His Soldiers employed in the Service. Nay, it is farther ſaid, that he once had it in his Head to depoſe the Conſuls for that Affront, but upon their Apology and Submiſſion he was appeaſed. To ingratiate himſelf with the People he ſuffered them to knock out the Brains of as many of *Nero*'s Party as fell into their Hands. Among Others, they

(1) This *Tigellinus* was a Perſon of obſcure Birth, who from his Infancy had wallowed in Sin and Infamy. After having by his Crimes obtained in haſte thoſe Recompences, which are the ſlow Rewards of Virtue, and been advanced from Captain of the Watch to be Commander in Chief of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, he then dipped deeper into all ſorts of Wickedneſs, and aggravated his Debauches with Avarice and Cruelty. *Tacitus* gives us an Account of his ignominious Death in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory.

faſtened

faſtened *Spicillus* a Gladiator under *Nero*'s Statues, which they dragged along the Streets, and cruſhed him to Pieces in the *Forum* They laid a celebrated Informer named *Aponius* flat on the Ground, and drove Carts heavy loaden with Stones over him. Many Others they ſeized, and tore in Pieces, among whom were ſeveral who were innocent. Inſomuch that *Mauriſcus*, who was deſervedly eſteemed one of the beſt Men in the City, declared in full Senate, *that he was afraid they ſhould ſoon have Cauſe to wiſh for* Nero.

Thus *Nymphidius* advancing every day nearer to the Completion of his Hopes, ſuffered it to be reported that he was the Son of *Caius Cæſar*, who ſucceeded *Tiberius*. For that Prince in his Youth had ſome Correſpondence with the Mother of *Nymphidius*, a Woman beautiful enough, the Daughter of *Calliſtus*, *Cæſar*'s Freeman, by a Sempſtreſs who was his kept Miſtreſs. But it is evident that *Cæſar*'s Commerce with his Mother was poſterior to the Birth of *Nymphidius*; it is more likely that he was the Son of a Gladiator named *Martianus*, with whom his Mother *Nymphidia* was taken, upon the Report of his great Performances; and the perfect Reſemblance there was between Him and that Gladiator is a ſtrong Proof of that Conjecture. However he acknowledged that he was the Son of *Nymphidia*, and valuing himſelf as the only Author of *Nero*'s Death, he did not think he was ſufficiently rewarded in the Honours he received, and the Wealth he enjoyed, and not content with having *Sporus* to gratify his infamous Pleaſures, that Minion of *Nero*'s, whom he took from the Funeral Pile whilſt his Maſter's Corps was ſtill a burning, (1) uſed him as his Wife, and

(1) That Monſter might well paſs for the Wife of *Nymphidius*, after he had been owned under that Title by *Nero*; but it is plain from that Quality that inſtead of *Poppæus*, as it ſtands in the Text, it

called him *Poppæa*, but he aſpired to the Empire alſo, and to that end carried on his Cabals in *Rome* by the help of his Friends, a parcel of intreaguing Women, and ſome Perſons of Senatorial Dignity who were won over to his Intereſt. He likewiſe ſent one of his Creatures named *Gellianus* into *Spain* to be a Spy upon *Galba*'s Motions, and ſend Him an Account of Affairs there.

But every thing ſucceeded to *Galba*'s Wiſh after the Death of *Nero*; only *Verginius Rufus* remaining undetermined gave him ſome Uneaſineſs. He was afraid that finding himſelf at the Head of ſo powerful an Army, having acquired great Honour in the Defeat of *Vindex*, and commanding ſo conſiderable a Part of the *Roman* Empire, as *Gaul* was eſteemed, which was then fluctuating, and ripe for a Revolt, he might give Ear to Thoſe who invited him to the Empire. And no Man ſurely had a greater Name and Reputation than *Virginius*, no Man had acted a greater Part in thoſe Revolutions, or contributed ſo much to deliver the *Romans* from Tyranny, and at the ſame time preſerve them from a *Gallick* War. But He continuing firm to his firſt Reſolutions, reſerved to the Senate the power of electing an Emperor; and even after there was a certainty in the Army of the Death of *Nero*, tho' the Soldiers crowded about his Tent, and preſſed him to aſſume the Title, tho' one of the Tribunes forced his way into his Tent with his Sword drawn, requiring him to receive That, or the Empire, he ſtill perſiſted in a Denial.

it ought to be *Poppæa*. *Nymphidius* called him *Poppæa*, which is the Name of a Woman, as *Nero* had before called him *Sabina*. This monſtrous Marriage of *Nero* with *Sporus* gave Occaſion to that fine Saying of a *Roman*, who declared *that it had been happy for Mankind if* Demetrius *the Father of* Nero *had never been married but to ſuch a Woman.*

But

But as ſoon as *Fabius Valens*, who commanded one of the Legions, had taken the Oath of Fidelity to *Galba*, and they had received Letters from *Rome* containing an Account of the Reſolutions of the Senate, it was with much Difficulty that he then perſuaded the Army to acknowledge *Galba* for Emperor. And *Galba* having ſoon after ſent *Flaccus Hordeonius* to ſucceed him in the Command, he received him with great Reſpect, and as ſoon as he had reſigned the Army to him, he went to meet *Galba*, and attended on him in his Journey to *Rome*, without receiving from him the leaſt Mark of Thanks on the one ſide, or Reſentment on the Other. *Galba* did not ſhew him any Marks of Reſentment for what had been done, becauſe he had a perſonal Value and Eſteem for him; nor on the contrary did he countenance and careſs him, becauſe he was diverted from it by his Friends, eſpecially by *Titus Vinius*, who was jealous of him, and endeavoured to put a ſtop to his Promotion. Herein he was more his Friend than he intended, and contributed to that Happineſs, which he thought he was oppoſing. For by keeping him out of the Way of Preferment, he preſerved him from all the Hardſhips and Calamities, in which the other Officers of the Army were afterwards involved, and ſecured to him a quiet ſerene ſtate of Life, which he lived to enjoy to a good old Age.

The Ambaſſadors ſent to *Galba* from the Senate met him near *Narbon*, a City in *Gaul*, where they made their Compliments to him, and beſeeched him to make what haſte he could to ſhew himſelf to the People, who impatiently longed for his Preſence. *Galba* received them very graciouſly, diſcourſed them with great Openneſs and Familiarity, and invited them to an Entertainment; where tho' *Nymphidius* had ſent him many Services of Plate, both

of Gold and Silver, and other coſtly Furniture, which belonged to *Nero*, he never uſed any of it, but contented himſelf with his Own, wherein he appeared truly Great, and ſhewed he had a Soul above thoſe Fopperies. But *Titus Vinius* ſoon made him believe that that Magnanimity, that Meekneſs, and Simplicity, was a way of courting the People beneath his Grandeur and Dignity, and perſuaded him to make uſe of *Nero*'s Riches, without ſparing for any thing that might ſerve to make his Feaſts appear truly royal and magnificent. Inſomuch that the old Man ſoon made it appear that he was entirely governed by *Vinius*, the moſt covetous of all Men, and the moſt addicted to Women. For when he was but young, and making his firſt Campaign under *Calviſius Sabinus*, he had one Night the Impudence to bring into the Camp diſguiſed in a Soldier's Habit his General's own Wife, a Woman of a wanton Appetite, and uſed her like a Leaguer Lady (1) in that Part of the Camp which the *Romans* call *Principia*. For this infamous Fact he was impriſoned by *Caius Cæſar*, but was fortunately delivered by his Death: And being one Night invited to Supper by the Emperor *Claudius*, he ſtole a Silver Cup; when the Emperor came to be informed of it, he ſent to invite him to Supper the next day, and commanded the Officers who waited at the Table to ſerve *Vinius* in nothing but earthen Ware: By This mild Reproof the Emperor made it appear he thought the Fact deſerved to be laughed at, rather than puniſhed. But the Robberies he committed afterwards, when he governed *Galba* as he pleaſed, and made every thing truckle to his private Profit and Intereſt, were

(1) This Action, exceeding inſolent and ſhameful in it ſelf, was ſtill aggravated in reſpect to the Place where it was committed, for that Part of the Camp was held ſacred. There the Enſigns were kept, and there likewiſe were the Altars of their Gods.

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the Occaſion of many tragical Events, and a Pretence for More. For when *Nymphidius* was informed by *Gellianus*, upon his Return out of *Spain*, whither he had ſent him as a Spy upon *Galba*, that *Cornelius Laco* was declared *Prætorian* Præfect, and that *Vinius* was prime Favourite at Court, and when he ſaw there was no opportunity for Him to get near the Emperor, and diſcourſe with him in private, but was continually watched by the Favourite, and His Creatures, he found himſelf under the greateſt Perplexity. Hereupon he ſummoned all the Officers of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and told them that *Galba* of Himſelf was an honeſt harmleſs old Man, full of Moderation and Humanity, but that he did not make uſe of his own Reaſon, but ſuffered himſelf to be guided by *Vinius*, and *Laco*, who made an ill Uſe of the Power they had over him: His Opinion therefore was, that without giving them time to eſtabliſh themſelves, unknown to Them, and acquire the ſame Power and Authority which had been uſurped by *Tigellinus*, they ought to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, in the Name of the whole Army, and remonſtrate to him that if he only removed thoſe Two from his Service his Preſence would be much more acceptable to the *Romans*, than if he continued them near his Perſon. But when he ſaw the Officers did not reliſh the Motion, but that on the contrary they thought it ſtrange and abſurd to preſcribe Rules to an Emperor of his Age and Experience, as if he had been a Boy juſt come to taſte the Sovereignty, and tell him who of his Friends were to be truſted, and who to be diſcarded, he changed his Meaſures. He wrote to *Galba*, to terrify him, by adviſing him ſometimes that a peſtilent Spirit prevailed in the City tending to a Revolt; at Others, that *Clodius Macer* was providing large Magazines in *Africk*; Now,

the Armies in *Germany* were mutinying; and Now, the Troops in *Syria* and *Judæa* were in the ſame Diſpoſition. But when he found that *Galba* ſlighted this Intelligence, and gave no credit to what he had written, he reſolved to be beforehand with him, and ſeize the Imperial Dignity to Himſelf, contrary to all the Remonſtrances that could be made him by *Clodius Celſus* of *Antioch*, a Man of good Underſtanding, and his intimate Friend, who continually repreſented to him that there was not one Ward, or Company in *Rome*, who would ever be brought to give *Nymphidius* the Title of *Cæſar*. Notwithſtanding This, moſt People deſpiſed and derided *Galba*, among the reſt *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, who making himſelf merry with his withered Face and bald Pate, ſaid, *At preſent whilſt he is at ſome Diſtance the* Romans *entertain mighty Expectations of him, but the Moment he arrives, and they caſt their Eyes upon him, they will own it a Scandal and Diſgrace to the preſent Age that ever He was named* Cæſar.

At laſt it was reſolved to convey *Nymphidius* by Night into the Camp, and there proclaim him *Cæſar*; but *Antonius Honoratus*, firſt of the Tribunes, aſſembling in the Evening the Soldiers under his Command, condemned Himſelf, and condemned Them, foraſmuch as in ſo ſhort a time they had changed Hands ſo often, not upon any Dictates of Reaſon, or to make a Change for the better, but becauſe they were agitated by ſome evil Genius, which hurried them on from one Treaſon to Another; that indeed there was ſome colourable Pretence for what they had done againſt *Nero*, who had provoked them to it by his Cruelty and Tyranny; *But now*, ſaid he, *what is it prompts you to abandon and betray* Galba? *Can you reproach Him with the Murder of his Wife, and Mother? Did He ever diſgrace the Imperial Dignity by expoſing himſelf, and*

and acting the Fool's Part on the Stage? Nay, notwithſtanding all the Provocations he had given us, we thought it not fit to abandon even that Monſter 'till we were perſuaded by Nymphidius *that he had abandoned Us firſt, and was fled into* Ægypt. *What therefore are we a doing? Muſt* Galba *fall a Victim to appeaſe the Ghoſt of* Nero? *Muſt we remove One of* Livia's *Family, as we have already cut off the Son of* Agrippina, *on purpoſe to make way for the Son of* Nymphidia? *Shall we not rather in the firſt Place call Him to an Account for the Death of* Nero; *and in the next approve our ſelves the faithful Soldiers of* Galba?

This Diſcourſe of the Tribune brought All that heard him over to His Sentiments, ſo that they immediately went to their Companions, and exhorting them to maintain inviolable the Oath they had taken to the Emperor, a great Number joined with them. At the ſame time *Nymphidius* hearing a loud Shout, which ſeemed to proceed from the whole Army in general, and either imagining, as Some conceive, that he was then called upon to be proclaimed Emperor, or rather to prevent an Inſurrection, and fix Thoſe who might ſtill be wavering, he haſtened thither attended by a great Number of Lights, and holding a Speech in his Hand compoſed by *Ciconius Varro*, which he had got by Heart in order to pronounce it to the Army. But when he found the Gates of the Camp ſhut upon him, and obſerved the Walls manned with armed Soldiers, he began to be afraid; however advancing nearer, he asked them, *what they were about, and by whoſe Direction they were thus under their Arms?* They anſwered One and All, *We acknowledge no other Perſon for Emperor but* Galba. He pretending to be of the ſame Sentiment commended them for their Fidelity, and commanded Thoſe who accompanied him to follow his Example.

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They who were poſted at the Gates admitting Him and ſome Few of his Followers into the Camp, he was immediately ſaluted with a Dart, which *Septimius*, who was marching before him, received on his Shield. But when ſeveral Others began to attack him with their drawn Swords he took to his Heels, and was followed into a Soldier's Hut, where they maſſacred him. His Body was dragged through the Camp, where they made a ſort of Encloſure for it, and expoſed it to publick View the next Morning.

Nymphidius being in this manner removed, *Galba*, as ſoon as he was informed of it, commanded all his Accomplices, who had not prevented him by killing Themſelves, to be put to Death. Among Theſe was *Ciconius Varro*, who had compoſed his Speech for him, and *Mithridates* of *Pontus*. But This Proceeding ſeemed to be arbitrary and illegal, and though it might be juſt, yet was it by no means popular, to take off Men of their Rank and Quality without a fair hearing. Every one expected another Scheme of Government, being deceived, as it is uſual, by the firſt plauſible Pretences; but That which concerned them more than all the reſt was his Uſage of *Petronius Turpilianus*, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity, who was commanded to diſpatch Himſelf, becauſe he had been faithful to *Nero*. Indeed there was ſome Colour of Pretence for the Death of *Macro*, who was ſlain in *Africa* by *Trebonianus*, and for That of *Fonteius Capito*, who fell by the Hands of *Valens* in *Germany*, becauſe They were in Arms, at the Head of Legions, and might for that Reaſon be dangerous. But a Man in *Turpilianus*'s Circumſtances, broken with Age, naked and defenceleſs, He ſurely might have expected at leaſt to have been heard by a Prince who reſolved to obſerve that Moderation in his Actions, which he had promiſed in his Speeches. Theſe Things reflected much upon *Galba*.

When

When he was come within five and twenty Furlongs of the City he was accoſted by a diſorderly Rabble of Seamen, who beſet him in his Paſſage. Theſe were Sailors whom *Nero* had enrolled in the Army, and formed into a Legion. And now they addreſſed themſelves in a very tumultuous manner to *Galba*, requiring to have their Eſtabliſhment confirmed, ſtopping up the Way to all Others, who came to wait upon the Emperor, not ſuffering them to approach his Perſon, ſee him or ſalute him, but with a licentious Noiſe inſiſted upon having Colours and Legionary Quarters aſſigned to them. *Galba* put them off to another time, which They taking for a Denial grew enraged and mutinous, and Some of them having the Inſolence to draw their Swords, *Galba* commanded the Horſe to charge them. They made no manner of Reſiſtance, but were routed at the firſt Onſet, Many of them being killed upon the Spot, and the Reſt in their Flight. This could not but be looked upon as an ill Omen for *Galba*, who thus made his Entrance into the Capital City of the *Roman* Empire, through ſo much Blood and Slaughter. And if he was before contemned for his Age and Infirmities by Some, he now appeared to All moſt horrid and terrible.

Beſides, whilſt he was endeavouring to reform the profuſe Donatives and prodigious Expences that had prevailed in the Reign of *Nero*, he ran into the other Extream, and fell ſo ſhort of State that he came not within the Compaſs of Decency. When *Canus* an excellent Muſician had entertained him once all Supper-time with his Flute, and he could not but highly commend the Excellence of the Performance, he ſent for his Purſe, and made him a Preſent (1) of a few Pieces of Gold, tell-

(1) *Suetonius* in his Account of this Piece of Hiſtory ſaith that *Galba* gave him no more than five *Denarii*. *Cano autem Choraula mire placenti, denarios quinque donaſſe, prolatos manu ſua peculiaribus loculis.*

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ing him that he made him That Preſent out of his own Privy-Purſe, and not out of the Money which belonged to the Publick. He cauſed a ſtrict Enquiry to be made into all the Money *Nero* had laviſhly beſtowed upon Players, Wreſtlers, and ſuch ſort of Cattle, (1) and reſumed it, ſuffering them to enjoy only a Tenth. But as they were a diſſolute Set of People, living from Hand to Mouth, and ſpending as faſt as it came in, he was no great Gainer by that Act of Reſumption; wherefore he extended his Inquiry even to Thoſe who had trafficked with them, and bought or received any thing from them, and forced Them to refund. And foraſmuch as This was an Affair without Bounds, and Many were affected by it, the Ignominy of All fell upon the Emperor, and the Ill-will and Reſentment upon *Vinius*. For it was evident that He made the Emperor ſtingy and cloſe-fiſted to Others, that He might have an Opportunity of feathering his own Neſt, and gratify his inſatiate Avarice by taking with both Hands, and putting every thing up to Sale. In ſhort, according to *Heſiod*'s Precept, *whilſt the Veſſel is up to the Brim, or when it is going towards the Bottom, be ſure to drink your Fill*, *Vinius* being ſenſible that the Emperor was old and broken, determined to make Hay whilſt the Sun of his Fortune ſhined, which he beheld in the ſame Inſtant (2) both riſing and ſetting. In all thoſe Proceedings he wonderfully impoſed upon the aged Emperor; for on the one hand he was a moſt corrupt Steward in the Management of the Re-

(1) This Action was infinitely beneath the Dignity of an Emperor, and proceeded rather from an Exceſs of Avarice than the Spirit of Reformation. It ought to have extended only to ſuch exorbitant Grants as had been made to that unworthy Tribe, and had not yet been ſatisfied.

(2) It was riſing, in that he had the immenſe Wealth of *Galba* within his Gripe; and ſetting, with the declining Age of that Emperor.

venue, and on the other he either condemned or defeated his beſt Intentions, particularly in calling Thoſe to Account who had been employed by *Nero* in the Adminiſtration. The Emperor had cauſed ſeveral of thoſe Miſcreants to be put to Death as they deſerved, among whom was *Elius*, *Polycletus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*. The People were in a Rapture when they beheld them led through the *Forum* to the Place of Execution, calling it a moſt beautiful and holy Proceſſion; but then they added, that both the Gods and Men demanded that grand Author, and Promoter of the Tyranny, *Tigellinus*. But that worthy Miniſter had been before-hand with them; he had purchaſed the Grace and Favour of *Vinius* by moſt extravagant Bribes, which he would have him conſider as no other than Pledges of more ſubſtantial Acknowledgements. *Turpilianus*, who was hated only becauſe he could neither hate nor betray ſo wicked a Maſter, without having been guilty of any notorious Iniquity, or been polluted with the Crimes of *Nero*, was nevertheleſs put to Death; whereas He, who firſt plunged his Prince into that Guilt, for which he deſerved to dye, and afterwards forſook and betrayed him, was not only ſuffered to enjoy his Life, but a very conſiderable Fortune with it into the Bargain, by which it was evident that no Man had reaſon to deſpair whilſt he had Money to give *Vinius*. For there was nothing the People of *Rome* deſired with ſo much Paſſion as to behold *Tigellinus* led to Execution. It was what they daily inſiſted upon in the Theatre and *Circus*, which at laſt conſtrained the Emperor to check them by the Publication of an Edict, wherein he aſſured them that *Tigellinus* could not live long, being much waſted with a Conſumption, and deſired *that they would not make his Government appear Cruel and Tyrannical.*

This

This Proceeding very much diſpleaſed the People, who were only laughed at for their Pains; both by *Tigellinus*, who that very day made a Sacrifice to the Gods for his Recovery, which was followed by a magnificent Entertainment; and by *Vinius*, who when he had ſupped with the Emperor went to revel it with *Tigellinus*, carrying with him his Daughter, who was then a Widow. As ſoon as *Tigellinus* ſaw him he called for a Cup, and drinking the Lady's Health he at the ſame time made her a Preſent of two hundred and fifty thouſand Drachmas, and commanding the chief of his Concubines to take from her own Neck a Necklace valued at a hundred and fifty thouſand more, he ordered her to preſent That likewiſe to the Widow.

From that very Moment every thing the Emperor did, though never ſo mild and moderate, was condemned and cenſured; ſuch was his Lenity to the *Gauls*, who had been in the Conſpiracy with *Vindex*; for the People looked upon their being made free of the City, and the Abatement of their Taxes, not to proceed from the Clemency of the Prince, but to have been purchaſed at a high rate of *Vinius*. Hence Many began to malign the Government. But the Soldiers were kept quiet a while, in Expectation of the Donative which had been promiſed them, ſuppoſing that if they did not receive the full, yet at leaſt they ſhould receive as much as had been given them by *Nero*; but when *Galba* was told that they began to murmur and complain, he replied, as a truly heroick Prince ought to do, *that His Cuſtom was to chuſe, and not buy his Soldiers.* This Saying made them conceive an implacable Hatred againſt him; for they would have it that he did not only defraud them Himſelf, and blaſt their preſent Expectations, but gave

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an ill Precedent to his Succeſſors, and inſtructed Them to do the like.

There was a Tendency to a Revolt among the *Prætorian* Bands at *Rome*, but the Reverence they bore *Galba*, who was preſent among them, ſomewhat retarded their Motions, and abated of their Edge, and finding no probable Ground for Diſturbance, they curbed their Diſcontents for the preſent. But the Armies, which had ſerved formerly under *Verginius*, and were then commanded by *Flaccus* in *Germany*, preſuming upon their late Victory over *Vindex*, for which they had received no Recompence, would not ſuffer themſelves to be reſtrained by their Officers, nor paid any Reſpect to that General Himſelf, who was rendered infirm by the Gout, and was at the beſt a Perſon of no great Experience in military Affairs.

At one of their ſolemn Feſtivals, when it was cuſtomary for the Officers of the Army to wiſh all Health and Happineſs to the Emperor, the common Soldiers began to Mutiny; but when the Officers repeated their good Wiſhes, they had the Impudence to add, as a Burden to the Song, *provided he be worthy.*

The Legions under the Command of *Tigillinus* were all of them guilty of the like Inſolence, of which *Galba* was fully informed by his Procurators; whereupon ſuſpecting that he might be deſpiſed, not only for his old Age, but alſo for want of Iſſue, he determined to adopt ſome young Man of Quality, and declare Him his Succeſſor.

There was at that time in *Rome* a young Man called *Otho*, a Perſon of no mean Extraction, but who from his Infancy had been ſo thoroughly addicted to Lewdneſs and Debauchery, that few or none of the *Romans* could excel him in thoſe Articles. And as *Homer* often calls *Paris*, *fair* Helen's *Husband*, becauſe he had nothing in Himſelf to recommend him, ſo was *Otho* talked of at *Rome*

chiefly for being the Husband of *Poppæa*, with whom *Nero* fell in love whilſt ſhe was the Wife of *Criſpinus*, but having not then thrown off all the Reſpect due to his own Conſort, and being under ſome Fear of offending his Mother, he concealed his Paſſion, and engaged *Otho* under-hand to ſollicit her in his Behalf. For *Otho*'s Debauchery had recommended him to *Nero*, who was ſo much taken with his Converſation that he received a ſenſible Delight in his drolling Humour, and ſuffered him with Pleaſure to ridicule Him for his Niggardlineſs and Avarice.

We are told that one day when *Nero* was perfuming himſelf with an Eſſence of extraordinary Value, he ſprinkled a little of it upon *Otho*. The next day *Otho* invited the Emperor to Supper, and as ſoon as he was entered, ſome gold and ſilver Pipes he had prepared for that Purpoſe diſperſed an Eſſence of as great a Value throughout the whole Room, and that in ſo great abundance that it fell like a Miſt upon all that were preſent. Having therefore firſt debauched *Poppæa* in the Name of *Nero*, by making her hope to have that Prince for her Galant, he at laſt perſuaded her to part with her Husband, and took her home as his own Wife. But he was not ſo well pleaſed that he enjoyed her, as he was uneaſy at his having her only by Halves, and ſharing her with ſo powerful a Rival. It is ſaid *Poppæa* was ſo far from being concerned at this Jealouſy in *Otho*, that ſhe refuſed even to admit *Nero* when *Otho* was abſent; whether it was with a Deſign to keep *Nero*'s Appetite ſharp and eager, which might otherwiſe be blunted by too eaſy an Acceſs, or for that, as Some ſay, ſhe had no Inclination for *Nero* as a Husband, but choſe rather to keep him as a Galant, which Quality was moſt agreeable to her wanton Appetite. *Otho*'s Life was in great Danger upon his marrying

ing this Woman; and it was ſomething aſtoniſhing that *Nero*, who had ſacrificed his Wife and Siſter for the ſake of *Poppæa*, would ſpare *Otho*, who was a greater Obſtacle to his Deſigns than both the Former. But *Seneca* had a Friendſhip for *Otho*, (1) and it was *Seneca* who importuned and prevailed with *Nero* to ſend his Friend Pro-Prætor to the Sea-Coaſt in *Luſitania*, where he behaved himſelf with ſo much Prudence and Moderation in his Government, that he was neither burdenſom nor diſagreeable to the Inhabitants, being ſenſible that this Command was conferred upon him as a more honourable Exile.

Upon *Galba*'s Revolt from *Nero* He was the Firſt of all the Governours in the Provinces who declared for him, and taking with him all the Plate he had, whether of Gold or Silver, he preſented it to him, in order to have it coined for his Service. At the ſame time he made him a Preſent of ſuch of the Officers of his Houſhold, as were beſt qualified to ſerve a Prince in a manner ſuitable to his Dignity. In every thing elſe he acted with great Fidelity to *Galba*, and ſoon made it appear that no one about him had more Experience, or was better qualified to ſerve him in the Adminiſtration. He accompanied him during the whole Journey to *Rome*, travelling with him ſometimes in the ſame Chariot for many days together; in all which time he was zealous in his Courtſhip to *Vinius*, recommending himſelf to him by his Aſſiduity and Preſents, but in nothing more than in yielding to him the firſt Degree in his Prince's Favour; by which means He Himſelf got poſſeſſed

(1) This Honourable Exile, which put *Nero* in full Poſſeſſion of his Miſtreſs, was thought ſufficient; a more ſevere Puniſhment would have diſcovered the Plot, which was deſigned to be kept ſecret; but notwithſtanding all this Artifice it took Wind, as appears by the following Diſtich, which was very common.

Cur Otho mentito ſit quæriris exul honore?
Uxoris Mœchus caverat eſſe ſuæ.

of the Second, with this Advantage over *Vinius*, that he was neither envied nor hated by any man, but was free of his good Offices, without any Benefit or Reward; being affable, and eaſy of Acceſs to All, who had any Buſineſs with him. But above all he was a ſure Friend to the Officers in the Army, many of whom he got preferred to the higheſt Poſts, ſome by the Emperor Himſelf, and the reſt by the means of *Vinius*, and *Galba*'s freed-men *Icelus* and *Aſiaticus*, for They were the Perſons of the greateſt Credit and Authority in the Court. As often as he entertained *Galba* at his own Houſe he worked himſelf into the Favour and Good-will of the Cohort upon Guard, by preſenting every Soldier with a Piece of Gold. Thus under a Pretence of doing Honour to his Prince by theſe Donations, he eſtabliſhed his Intereſt in the *Prætorian* Bands, to be made uſe of by him upon Occaſion.

Whilſt *Galba* was deliberating upon the Choice of a Succeſſor, *Vinius* propoſed *Otho*, which he did for his own private Ends, becauſe *Otho* had promiſed to marry his Daughter whenever he ſhould be adopted by *Galba*, and declared his Succeſſor. But *Galba* made it appear very viſibly that He preferred the Intereſt of the Publick to his own private Views and Inclinations, and deſired to adopt not the Perſon who was moſt agreeable to Him, but ſuch a One as was likely to be moſt ſerviceable to the *Romans*. Beſides it is very plain that he had no Thoughts of declaring *Otho* Heir to his Paternal Eſtate, for he knew him to be ſo diſſolute, debauched and extravagant, and ſo dipped in Debt, that he owed no leſs than five Millions of Drachmas. Wherefore after having given *Vinius* a favourable Hearing, without returning any deciſive Anſwer, he referred the farther Conſideration of the Affair to another time, only at preſent he appointed *Otho* and *Vinius* Conſuls for the Year enſuing.

enſuing. This made it generally believed that *Otho* would be declared Succeſſor in the beginning of the Year, which was exceeding grateful to All, eſpecially to the Gentlemen of the Army.

But whilſt *Galba* was deliberating upon the Choice he was to make, and put it off from day to day without coming to any final Determination, he received Intelligence that the *German* Forces had mutinied. It is true that all the Forces throughout the Empire had to a Man an Averſion to *Galba*, becauſe they had not received the Donatives that had been promiſed them; but the Troops in *Germany* urged farther in their Juſtification, *That* Verginius Rufus *had been removed with Diſgrace and Ignominy; that the* Gauls, *who had fought againſt them, were the only People who were rewarded; that all Thoſe who had not declared for* Vindex *had been puniſhed; and that* Vindex *only was the Perſon to whom* Galba *ſeemed to have the greateſt Obligation, continuing to honour his Memory with funeral Oblations, and other publick Solemnities, as if he owed it to* Vindex *only that he was created Emperor.*

Whilſt theſe Diſcourſes were held with Impunity throughout the Camp, on the firſt day of the Year, called by the *Romans* the Calends of *January*, *Flaccus* ſummoned them to appear according to cuſtom, and take the anniverſary Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor; but They, having firſt demoliſhed the Statues of *Galba*, inſtead of taking the Oath to the Emperor, ſwore to be true and faithful to the Senate and People, and then retired. Upon This their Officers, who dreaded Anarchy as a greater Evil than Rebellion, endeavoured to reclaim them, and one of them delivered himſelf to them in the manner following: *What are We about now, Fellow-Soldiers? We are not appointing another Emperor, tho' We are reſolved not to retain Him we have at preſent; as if*

our Intention was not ſo much to reſcue ourſelves from Galba, *as to decline all Subjection, and be under no Command. As for* Hordeonius Flaccus, *who is no better than a Cypher, a meer Shadow, and Image of* Galba, *let us uſe Him as ſuch. But* Vitellius, *chief Commander of the lower* Germany, *is but one Day's March diſtant, whoſe Father was Cenſor, and thrice Conſul, and as I may ſay, in a manner Co-Emperor with* Claudius Cæſar. *The Poverty of this Man, for which he is ſo unworthily reproached by Some, is however a generous Proof of his Bounty and Magnanimity. For Him, my Fellow-Soldiers, let us All declare, and make it appear to the whole World that we know how to chuſe an Emperor, better than either the* Spaniards *or* Luſitanians.

Whilſt this Motion was approved by Some, and rejected by Others, an Enſign ſlipt out of the Camp, and that very Night went and carryed an Account of it to *Vitellius*, who received it at a time when he was treating a great Number of his Officers. News of this Importance could not but ſpread apace, and was ſoon communicated to the whole Army; whereupon *Fabius Valens*, who commanded one of the Legions, went the next day at the Head of a ſtrong Body of Horſe, and ſaluted *Vitellius* Emperor. He had ſome days before refuſed to accept of the Empire, as of a Burden too weighty for his Shoulders, but being now over-fed, and full of Wine, which he had been guzzling from Noon 'till that time, he received the News joyfully, appeared in Publick, and accepted of the Title of *Germanicus*, conferred upon him by the Troops, inſtead of That of *Cæſar*, which he had rejected. At the ſame time the Soldiers under *Flaccus*, notwithſtanding their Profeſſions of Obedience to the Senate, which ſavoured ſo ſtrong of a Democracy, took the Oath of Allegiance to *Vitellius*, and obliged themſelves faithfully to obey His Orders. In this

this Manner was *Vitellius* proclaimed Emperor in *Germany*.

When *Galba* came to be informed of this Revolt he no longer delayed to name a Succeſſor, and knowing that his Friends were divided upon the Point, that Many of them were for *Dolabella*, but More for *Otho*, neither of which he approved, all on a ſudden, without communicating his Deſign to Any, he ſent for *Piſo*, the Son of *Craſſus*, and Grandſon of *Piſo* who was ſlain by *Nero*, a Youth virtuouſly inclined by Nature, and who to that natural Diſpoſition had joined a Modeſty, and Chaſtity of Manners, becoming the moſt illuſtrious of the ancient *Romans*. This Youth he took immediately with him to the Camp, named him *Cæſar*, and declared him his Succeſſor. But many Signs and Prodigies accompanied him in his Paſſage thither. And in the Camp, juſt as he was beginning a Speech to the Soldiers, part of which he was to read, and the other part repeat by Heart, the frequent Claps of Thunder and Flaſhes of Lightning, and a diſmal black Storm which covered both the Camp and the City, were plain Diſcoveries that the Heavens did not favour this Adoption. The Soldiers alſo ſeemed diſſatisfied by their ſullen Looks; ſeeing nothing of the wonted Diſtributions on ſuch Occaſions. Thoſe who were preſent, and obſerved *Piſo*'s Countenance and Voice, admired to ſee him no more ſurprized, tho' he ſeemed not inſenſible of ſo great a Favour.

On the other hand, *Otho* appeared full of Sadneſs and Diſturbance at his Diſappointment, as being once thought worthy, and even ready to be inveſted in his good Fortune, and now to be put by, was a ſhrewd ſign of the Diſpleaſure and Ill-will of *Galba* towards him. This filled him with Fears and Jealouſies, and grievouſly perplexed his Mind, whilſt he dreaded *Piſo*, hated *Galba*, and was full

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of Wrath and Indignation againſt *Vinius*. But the *Chaldeans* and Sooth-ſayers about him would not permit him to lay aſide his Hopes, or quit his Deſign, chiefly *Ptolomæus*; relying much upon a Prediction of His, implying that *Nero* ſhould not murder Him, but He Himſelf ſhould die firſt, and that *Otho* ſhould not only ſurvive him, but be in time advanced to the Empire. Now the Event having juſtified the firſt Part of this Prediction, he thought he ought not to diſtruſt the reſt; but none exaſperated him more, than thoſe who ſeemed privately to pity his hard Fate, to be ſo ungratefully dealt with by *Galba*; eſpecially the Creatures of *Nymphidius* and *Tigillinus*, who were now caſt off, and reduced to their former ſtate, Theſe ſeemed highly to reſent the Indignity put upon him, and egged him on to a Spirit of Reſentment.

In the Number of Theſe were *Veturius*, and *Barbius Proculus*, of whom the Firſt was Serjeant of a Company, and the other *Teſſerarius*, that is one of thoſe Inferior Officers who receive the Word from the Tribune taken down in Writing, and carry it to the Tents of the Soldiers. *Onomaſtus*, one of *Otho*'s Freedmen, joined himſelf to them, and all Three of them corrupted as many as they could, Some by Bribes, and Some by mighty Promiſes of future Rewards and Advantages. They found it no difficult Point to gain, ſo ripe were they All in general for a Revolt, waiting only for a fair Opportunity to declare themſelves: For if the Army had been well-inclined, ſo ſudden a Change could not have been ſo eaſily effected, for there was no more than the Space of four days between the Adoption, and Aſſaſſination, *Piſo* and *Galba* being both murdered the Sixth day after, which happened to be on the fifteenth of *January*. That day in the Morning *Galba* offered a Sacrifice in the Palace, at which ſeveral of his Friends aſſiſted.

Umbricius the Diviner had no ſooner taken the Entrails of the Victim into his Hands, but he declared that the Tokens did not obſcurely and Enigmatically, but clearly and poſitively denounce that Treaſon was a-foot, and the Emperor threatned with ſome imminent Danger. Thus *Otho* hardly eſcaped being delivered as it were by the Finger of God into the Hands of *Galba*, for he was cloſe behind him, diligently liſtening to *Umbricius* his Lecture. He was ſtrangely diſconcerted at the Diſcovery, ſo that his Countenance changed, and he was in the utmoſt Confuſion, when *Onomaſtus* told him the Maſter-Builders were at home, and waited for him. Now that was the Signal, by which *Otho* was to underſtand that the Soldiers were ready, and every thing ripe for Execution. He retired therefore, pretending to the Emperor that he had been purchaſing an old Houſe, which he was going to ſurvey, that a Report might be made of its Defects to Thoſe of whom he had bought it; and paſſing by that which was called the Palace of *Tiberius*, he proceeded to the *Forum*, near (1) the Golden Column where all the ſeveral High-ways in *Italy* terminate. There the firſt Party of the Guards to whom he preſented himſelf, received him, and proclaimed him Emperor. They were not above three and twenty in all; and tho' he was neither ſo weak or effeminate as might reaſonably be expected from the Delicacy of his Conſtitution, but on the contrary reſolute and determined in all hazadous Adventures, yet he was ſo diſcouraged at the Smallneſs of their Number, that he deſired to recede, and drop his Pretenſions. This the Soldiers would not ſuffer, but

(1) This Column was erected by *Auguſtus* at the Entrance into the *Forum*, when he was *Curator Viarum*, and had engraved upon it all the Highways in the ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, with their Diſtances diſtinguiſhed by Miles.

with their drawn Swords (1) ſurrounded the Chair, and commanded the Bearers to march on, at the ſame time He preſſed them to make all the haſte they could, crying out every Moment *I am a loſt Man.* This was overheard by Many, who ſeemed rather to be in Admiration, than concerned when they ſaw how Few they were who had engaged in ſo deſperate an Undertaking.

As they carryed him croſs the *Forum*, much ſuch another Party came up, and joined him. Theſe were followed by Others, who came in, Three and Four at a time, 'till at laſt they made up a conſiderable Body, and then drawing their Swords, and ſaluting him *Cæſar*, they conducted him to the Camp. *Julius Martialis*, who happened that day to be upon Guard, and was not, as it is reported, let into the Secret, ſurprized at an Event ſo unexpected, and ſeized with Fear, ſuffered him to enter. When he was got into the Camp he met with no Reſiſtance, for They who were Strangers to the Deſign being purpoſely encompaſſed by Thoſe who were the Contrivers of it, and mingled by One and Two together among them, followed the reſt at firſt out of Fear, and at laſt out of Choice, and by Perſuaſion.

This News was ſoon carried to *Galba* in the Palace, and he received it whilſt *Umbricius* was ſtill ſtanding by him, and as yet holding the Entrails in his Hand; ſo that even They, who were the moſt incredulous in Matters of this Nature, and, for want of knowing better, deſpiſed the Gift of Divination, were now convinced, and acknowledged the Efficacy of it, which wonderfully appeared in ſo ſudden an Accompliſhment. Immediately upon this Report the People thronged together in the *Forum*,

(1) *Suetonius* ſaith he hid himſelf in a Woman's Sedan. *Tunc abditus propere muliebri Sellâ in caſtra contendit.* He calls it a Woman's Sedan, becauſe it was cloſe.

and

and hurried up to the Palace; where *Vinius*, *Laco*, and ſome of *Galba*'s Freedmen ſtood with their Swords drawn near his Perſon, in readineſs to protect him. *Piſo* haſtened to the Life-guard, to prompt Them to their Duty; and *Marius Celſus*, a Perſon of great Worth and Bravery, was ſent to ſecure the *Illyrian* Cohort, which was quartered in the *Vipſanian Portico.*

Whilſt *Galba* was heſitating whether he ſhould go forth and ſhew himſelf to the Troops, or remain in the Palace, *Vinius* was poſitive for remaining where he was, and *Celſus* and *Laco* as poſitive to the contrary, bitterly inveighing againſt *Vinius*, for oppoſing them. In the mean time it was buzzed about that *Otho* was ſlain in the Camp, and that very inſtant appeared *Julius Atticius* one of the Guards, a Perſon of great Reputation, who came poſting in, and proclaimed aloud that *He was the Man who had killed great* Cæſar's *Enemy*, and preſſing through the Croud preſented himſelf with his bloody Sword to the Emperor. *Galba* looking earneſtly upon him, demanded to know who commanded him to do it? to which he inſtantly replyed, *My Fidelity, and the Oath I have taken to be true to the Emperor.* Whereupon all the People cryed out *it was bravely done*, and clapped their Hands in token of Approbation.

Soon after This *Galba* went forth in his Chair, to offer up a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and ſhew himſelf to the People; but he was ſcarce got into the *Forum* before the Tide turned, and on a ſudden it was noiſed every where that *Otho* was become Maſter of the Camp, and the Army. Upon This, as it always happens in a confuſed Multitude, Some were for having *Galba* return, and Others inſiſted that he ſhould proceed; Theſe encouraged him to be bold, and to fear nothing, whilſt Thoſe cautioned him to be circumſpect and wary. In this Conteſt, as in a Storm, his Chair was born ſometimes one

one way, and ſometimes another, always in danger of being overturned; when on a ſudden appeared firſt a Party of Horſe, and then a Body of Foot iſſuing from the Hall of *Paulus*, and crying out with one Voice *Away with this no-Emperor*. On every ſide were to be ſeen People running, not with deſign to diſperſe, but to poſſeſs themſelves of the *Porticos*, and other eminent Places about the *Forum*, as if ſome Shews were to be exhibited. *Attilius Vergilius* having given the Signal, by demoliſhing the Statues of *Galba*, they immediately fell to open Hoſtilities, and Darts poured like Hail upon the Chair of *Galba*; but when they found none of them had wounded him, they fell on him with their Swords, whilſt no one ſtood by him, or had the Courage to offer himſelf in his Defence. Among ſo many Millions the Sun that day beheld One only whoſe Bravery declared him a Perſon truly worthy of the *Roman* Empire. That was a Centurion named *Sempronius Indiſtrus*, who, without having received any particular Favour from *Galba*, but only from (1) a Principle of Honour, and in Obedience to the Law, and the Oath he had taken to him, placed himſelf before the Chair, and raiſing aloft the Vine Branch with which the Centurions correct the Soldiers when they deſerve to be puniſhed, he cryed out, and commanded them who were attacking *Galba* to ſpare the Emperor; and when, inſtead of obeying his Orders, he found Himſelf aſſaulted by them, he drew out his Sword, and made a glorious Defence 'till he received a Wound in the Ham, upon which he fell flat to the Ground. When they had overturned *Galba*'s Chair near the

(1) Here we meet with three Obligations, which require a Subject to be true to his Prince, and expoſe his Life in his Defence; Honour, the Law, and his Oath of Allegiance. This was the Sentiment of a Heathen, and We Chriſtians lye under even ſtronger Obligations, for We are bound to it by the divine Law, which is much more cogent than all human Inſtitutions whatever.

Curtian

Curtian Lake, and beheld Him tumbling in the Mud, they fell at once upon him, and wounded him in many Places. At the ſame time he preſented his Throat to them, and ſaid, *Strike, if it be for the Good of the Publick.* He had a Cuiraſs on, which preſerved his Body, ſo that the Wounds he received were in his Arms and Legs, which were run thorough in many Places. Some ſay *Camurius*, a Soldier in the fifteenth Legion, was the Perſon who cut his Throat; Some aſcribe it to *Terentius*, Some to *Arcadius*, and Others to *Fabius Fabulus*. The laſt ſay farther that when *Fabius* had cut off his Head he was forced to wrap it up in the Skirt of his Garment, becauſe it was ſo bald that he could take no hold of it; but his Aſſociates not ſuffering him to conceal ſo brave an Action, he fixed it upon the Point of his Spear, and marched on, twirling the Head of a venerable old Man, a meek and gracious Prince, Chief Prieſt, and Conſul, and like the Prieſts of *Bacchus* bearing the Head of *Pentheus*, he brandiſhed his Spear diſcoloured with the Blood, which trickled from it.

When the Head was preſented to *Otho* he cryed out, *This is nothing, my Fellow-Soldiers, unleſs you ſhew me That of* Piſo *too.* The Head of *Piſo* was likewiſe preſented to him ſoon after, for that Prince having received a Wound retreated towards the Temple of *Veſta*, whither he was purſued by *Statius Marcus*, who ſlew him near the Gate of the Temple. At the ſame time they maſſacred *Vinius*, who proteſted that He was in the Conſpiracy, and cryed out that if they killed Him it was contrary to *Otho*'s Order. They cut off his Head, as they did likewiſe that of *Laco*, and preſenting them to *Otho*, required of him to be rewarded for their Service; for, as *Archilocus* ſaith, *Seven Men lye dead upon the Spot, who were overtaken and ſlain, and no fewer than a thouſand of us claim the Honour of the Action*; ſo Many, who had not the leaſt Share in this

this Murder, ſhewed their bloody Hands and Swords to *Otho*, and petitioned for a Gratuity. *Vitellius* found out afterwards among the *Archives* a Hundred and twenty Petitions of this Nature, preſented in one day to the new Emperor; and cauſing a diligent Search to be made after the Authors, he puniſhed them with Death, as they deſerved. *Marius Celſus* found a means of getting into the Camp, where the Cry immediately ran ſtrong againſt him; for he was accuſed of having encouraged the Soldiers to aſſiſt *Galba*, and the Rabble bawled out for Juſtice, tho' *Otho* was deſirous to ſave him, but not daring to refuſe them in plain terms, he pretended it was not for his Intereſt to take him off ſo ſoon, becauſe he had many things to ſift out of him. He therefore commanded him to be clapt in Irons, and committed him to the Cuſtody of Some in whom he had an entire Confidence.

Immediately after This the Senate was convened, and as if they were not now the ſame Men, or had other Gods to ſwear by, they took the ſame Oath to *Otho*, (1) which *Otho* Himſelf had not long before taken to *Galba*, and had juſt then violated; and conferred on him the Title of *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*; even whilſt the headleſs Carkaſſes of the Slain lay yet in their Robes of State in the *Forum*. As for their Heads, when they could make no other uſe of them, they ſold That of *Vinius* to his Daughter for two thouſand five hundred Drachmas. *Piſo*'s was begged by his Wife *Verania*. *Galba*'s was given to the Servants of *Patrobius* and *Vitellius*, who, after they had uſed it with the utmoſt Diſgrace and Ignominy, flung it into the Place were they throw the Bodies of Thoſe who are ſlain by order of the Emperors, called *Seſtertium*.

(1) This Reflection is very juſt. How can *Otho* depend upon the Oaths of Others taken to Him, when he was Himſelf ſo notoriouſly violating the Oath He had not long before taken to *Galba*?

Galba's

Galba's Corps was conveyed away be *Priſcus Helvidius*, with the Allowance of *Otho*, and buried in the Night by his Freeman *Argius*. Thus have I laid before you the Hiſtory of *Galba*, who in Point either of Wealth, or Nobility, came behind few of the *Romans* his Cotemporaries, and in Both together ſurpaſſed them All; who had lived under the Reign of five Emperors with great Honour and Reputation, inſomuch that he got the better of *Nero* by the Strength of That rather than by the Force of Arms. Of all Thoſe, who conſpired againſt that Tyrant, Some could find out no one whom they thought worthy to ſucceed, and Others thought Themſelves only worthy. But *Galba* was invited, and called upon to accept of the Empire, and did no more than yield an Obedience to Thoſe who proclaimed him. *Vindex* borrowing only the Name of *Galba* to colour his Raſhneſs, it ſo happened that That which in *Vindex* paſſed for a Revolt, was conſidered no other than as a Civil War when ſuch a Man as *Galba*, a Man fit to govern, was at the Head of it. Wherefore it could not be ſaid of him that he ſeized the Empire to Himſelf, but reſigned Himſelf up to the Empire, and in that View vainly hoped to reclaim and reduce thoſe *Romans*, who had been corrupted by the Flatteries of *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*, as *Scipio*, *Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did the Armies in their days. And tho' he was deſpiſed for his Age, he nevertheleſs ſhewed himſelf an Emperor truly worthy of antient *Rome* in every thing relating to Armies, and military Operations. It is true that by giving Himſelf blindly up to *Vinius*, *Laco*, and his Freemen, who made Sale of every thing, as *Nero* had done before him to His inſatiable Leeches, he loſt himſelf to that Degree that tho' Many pitied his Fate, no one deſired to live under his Government.

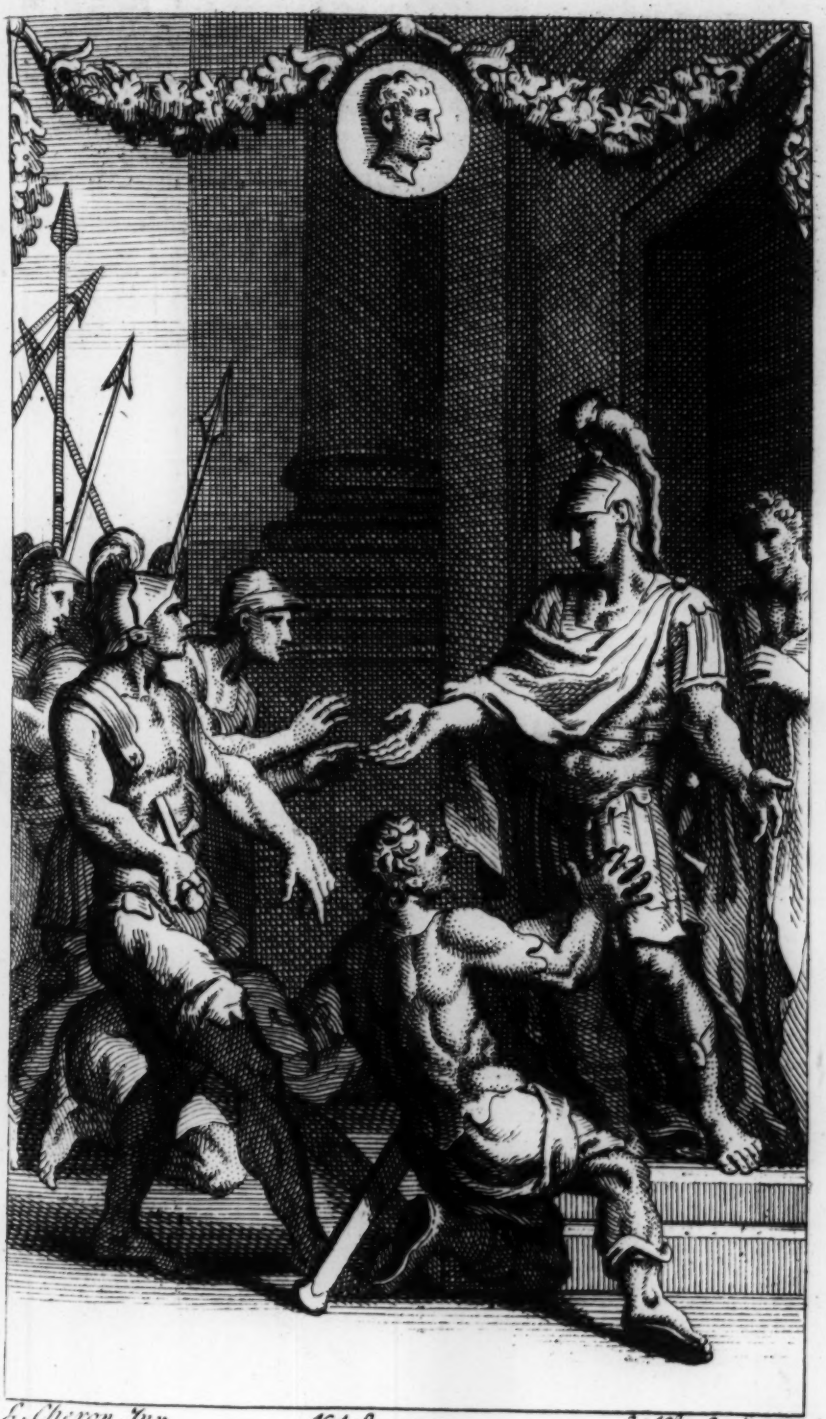
THE

THE LIFE OF OTHO.

THIS new Emperor went (1) early in the Morning to the Capitol, and ſacrificed; and having commanded *Marius Celſus* to be brought, he ſaluted him, and with obliging Language deſired him, *rather to forget his Confinement than remember his Releaſe*; to which *Celſus* anſwered, neither meanly nor ungratefully, *that his very Crime ought to recommend his Integrity, ſince he had been true to* Galba, *from whom he had never received any perſonal Obligations.* Upon which they were Both of them admired by all who were preſent, and applauded by the Soldiers.

(1) Theſe Words, which join this Life with the Former, make it evident that they are Both written upon a Plan different from That obſerved by *Plutarch* in his Parallels. The Author here is writing a Continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Caſars*. This ſeems to juſtify the Conjecture that theſe two Lives are written by ſome other Hand.

In



L. Cheron Inv. *Vol:8: p: 302.* *G: Vdr Gucht Sculp.*

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In the Senate *Otho* made many obliging and popular Harangues; and the time which ſtill remained unexpired of his Conſulſhip he ſhared with *Verginius Rufus*, and diſplaced none who had been preferred to that Dignity by *Nero* or *Galba*. Thoſe who were remarkable for their Age and Gravity, he promoted to the Prieſthood; and reſtored the Remains of their Fortune, to all thoſe Senators who had been baniſhed by *Nero*, and recalled by *Galba*: So that the Nobility and chief of the People, who were at firſt apprehenſive that no human Creature, but ſome Peſt or Devil, had ſeized the Empire, begun now to flatter themſelves with the hopes of an auſpicious Government.

Beſides; nothing gratifyed or gained the People more than his Juſtice in relation to *Tigellinus*, who was a Perſon not only actually puniſhed by the very apprehenſion of that Puniſhment, which the whole City required as a juſt Debt; but with ſeveral Diſeaſes too which he had contracted by converſing with lewd Women: And tho' the ill Conſequences to which this courſe of Life expoſed him, were generally looked upon as Puniſhment enough; yet the People thought Life it ſelf too great a Benefit for Him to enjoy, who had occaſioned the Death of ſo Many.

Wherefore *Otho* order'd him to be ſent for, juſt as he was contriving his Eſcape by means of ſome Veſſels that lay ready on the Coaſt near *Sinoeſſa*. At firſt he endeavoured to corrupt the Meſſenger to favour his Deſign; but when he found it was to no purpoſe, he made him as conſiderable a Preſent, as if he had really connived at it; only entreating him to ſtay 'till he had ſhaved; ſo took that Opportunity, and with his Razor diſpatched himſelf.

By this Management *Cæſar* endeared himſelf to the People, without ſeeming to have any regard to his

his own private Injuries. Beſides, that he might be more popular, he refuſed not to be called *Nero* in the Theatre, and encouraged the expoſing of that Emperor's Statues to publick view. (1) *Claudius Rufus* ſaith, he diſpatched Letters Patents into *Spain*, with the celebrated Name of *Nero* affixed to That of *Otho*; but as ſoon as he perceived this gave Offence to the Nobility, it was omitted.

After he had modelled the Government in this manner, the *Prætorian* Bands endeavoured to make him ſuſpect and diſcountenance the Nobility; which they did either out of a concern for his Safety, or to involve the Publick in confuſion. (2) One time when the Emperor Himſelf had ſent Orders to *Criſpinus* to march the ſeventeenth Cohort from *Oſtia* where it then lay in Garriſon, *Criſpinus*, that he might with more eaſe put the Emperor's Order in Execution, began as ſoon as it grew dark to pack up the Arms in the Baggage Waggons. Upon This Some of the moſt turbulent cry'd out that *Criſpinus* was diſaffected, that the Senate was practiſing ſomething againſt the Emperor, and that

(1) The Writer, of whom *Plutrach* ſpeaks in this place, was not called *Claudius Rufus*, but *Cluvius Rufus*. *M. Cluvius Rufus*, who was ſubſtituted Conſul in the Year of *Rome* ſix hundred ſeventy nine. He wrote the Hiſtory of his own Times. This Paſſage may ſerve to explain That in *Suetonius*. *Imo ut quidem tradidêrunt etiam diplomatibus primiſque epiſtolis ſuis ad quoſdam Provinciarum Præſides Neronis Cognomen adjecit.*

(2) This Paſſage is corrupted as it ſtands in the Text, where the Words are ὡς τινας ἀξουλα, which have been tranſlated *to take up ſome People*. This was not *Plutarch*'s meaning. We ought to reſtore this Text by That in *Tacitus*, and read it ἐξ Οστίας ἀξουλα. For the Emperor had ſent Orders to *Varius Criſpinus* to March the ſeventeenth Legion from *Oſtia*, which had been the ordinary Station aſſigned to it by the Emperor *Claudius*. *Sueton. Claud.* cap. xxv. *Puteolis & Oſtiæ ſingulas Cohortes ad arcendos incendiorum caſus collocavit.* And Theſe are the Words in *Tacitus*, *Hiſt.* lib. 1. *Septimam decimam Cohortem colonia Oſtienſi in urbem acciri Otho juſſerat, armanda ejus Cura Vario Criſpino Tribuno e Prætorianis data*, &c.

thoſe

thoſe Arms were to be employed Againſt him, and not For him.

When this Report began to ſpread, many of the Guards mutinied; ſome ſeized the Waggons, and others ſlew *Criſpinus* and two Centurions that oppoſed them; and encouraging one another to ſtand by the Emperor, they marched to *Rome* with Sword in hand.

As ſoon as they heard that Eighty of the Senators were at Supper with *Otho*, they flew to the Palace, and declared it was a fair Opportunity to take off *Cæſar*'s Enemies at one ſtroke. This alarmed the City with the expectation of an approaching Deſolation. All were in Confuſion about the Palace, and the Emperor Himſelf was in no ſmall Conſternation, being not only concerned for the Senators (ſome of whom had brought their Wives to Supper thither) but alſo afraid for Himſelf, perceiving their Eyes fixed on Him in Silence and Confuſion. Whereupon he gave Orders to ſome of the ſuperior Officers to compoſe the Tumult, and then privately diſmiſſed his Gueſts.

They were no ſooner gone, but the Soldiers ruſhed into the Room, and enquired what was become of the Emperor's Enemies: Then *Otho* riſing from his Couch, and making uſe both of Arguments and Entreaties, and even of Tears at laſt, with great Difficulty perſuaded them to deſiſt.

The next Day he went to the Camp, and diſtributed a Bounty of fifteen hundred and fifty *Denarii* a Man amongſt them; then he commended them for the regard they had to his Safety, but told them, that ſome of them were diſaffected towards him, and had not only abuſed his Clemency, but had alſo miſrepreſented Their Loyal Intentions and Fidelity, and therefore he deſired their Aſſiſtance in doing Juſtice upon them: To which they all conſented, and his Reſentment was

ſatisfied with the Execution of Two only, who were unlamented by the whole Army. Some who were inclined to think favourably of him, and to put a Confidence in his Actions, rejoyced at ſo unexpected a change; Others looked upon his Behaviour as a Stratagem to gain the Inclinations of the People towards the Support of the War. For now it was believed that *Vitellius* had aſſumed the Sovereign Authority, and frequent Expreſſes brought an Account of Parties going over to him; but that the *Pannonian*, *Dalmatian*, and *Myſian* Legions, with their Officers, adhered to *Otho*.

About this juncture, Letters were ſent from *Mutianus* and *Veſpaſian*, both of them Generals of two formidable Armies, the One in *Syria*, the Other in *Judæa*, to aſſure him of their Firmneſs to his Intereſt: In confidence whereof he was ſo exalted, that he adviſed *Vitellius* by Letter, not to attempt any thing beyond his Poſt; and offered him a Sum of Mony and a City, where he might end his Days in Eaſe and Security.

Theſe Overtures at firſt were returned with equivocating Civilities, which ended after in ridiculous Reproaches; upbraiding each other with the Follies of which they were Both too guilty. For it was hard to determine which of them had been moſt profuſe, moſt effeminate, which of them was moſt raw in Military Affairs, and moſt involved in Poverty and Debt.

As to the Prodigies and Apparitions that happened about this time, there are many differing and doubtful Accounts, tho' it be agreed that the Statue of *Victory Triumphant* in the Capitol let the Reins of her Chariot fall out of her Hands, as if ſhe were grown too weak to hold them any longer. That *Julius Cæſar*'s Statue, in the Iſland of *Tyber*, about the time that *Veſpaſian* publickly aſſumed the Government, turn'd from Weſt to Eaſt, tho'

tho' there was no Earthquake nor any Concuſſion in the Air to occaſion it. But That Omen which the People were moſt apprehenſive of, was an Inundation of the *Tyber*, which, tho' it happened at the time when Rivers uſually overflow, yet it then ſo far ſwelled above its Banks, and made ſuch a waſte (great part of the City being under Water, and eſpecially the Corn-Market) that it occaſioned a Dearth for ſeveral Days.

As ſoon as it was known that *Cecina* and *Valens*, two Captains belonging to *Vitellius*, had poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Alps*, *Dolabella* a Patrician, who was ſuſpected by the Guards of ſome ill Deſign (the Emperor alſo having a Jealouſie of Him and ſome Others) was ſent to *Aquinum*, with Aſſurances of *Otho*'s friendly Intentions. *Cæſar* then choſe ſome of the Magiſtrates to go with him to the War, and amongſt the reſt, *Lucius*, the Brother of *Vitellius*, without diſtinguiſhing him by any new Marks either of his Favour or Diſpleaſure. He alſo ſhewed a tender Regard to the Mother and Wife of *Vitellius*, thereby to take off all colour of Jealouſie and Suſpicion. He made *Flavius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſian*'s Brother, Governor of *Rome*, either in honour to the Memory of *Nero*, who had advanced him formerly to that Command, which *Galba* had taken away; or elſe to ſhew his Confidence in *Veſpaſian*, by his Favour to his Brother.

After he came to *Brixillum*, an *Italian* Town near the River *Eridanus*, he halted Himſelf, but order'd the Army to march under the Conduct of *Marius Celſus*, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all Men of Experience and Reputation, but unable to inforce their Orders by reaſon of the ungovernable Obſtinacy of the Army, which was reſolved to be commanded by none but the Emperor Himſelf. Nor was the Enemy under better Diſcipline, being ſtubborn and diſobedient upon the

ſame account, tho' they were more experienced and patient of Labour: For *Otho*'s Men were totally diſſolved in Sloath, minding nothing but Shows and Stage-plays, and ſo inſolently arrogant, that they would often refuſe to obey Orders, not becauſe they were unable to do the thing commanded, but becauſe they thought themſelves above it; ſo that *Spurina* had like to have been cut in pieces for attempting to force them to their Duty; for they went ſo far as to treat him with inſolent Language, accuſing him of a Deſign to betray *Cæſar*'s Intereſt; nay, ſome of them who were in drink forced his Tent, and demanded a Paſs, telling him they muſt go to the Emperor to complain of him.

However the contemptuous Treatment the Garriſon met with at *Placentia*, did no Diſ-ſervice to *Spurina*, nor the preſent poſture of Affairs; for *Vitellius*'s Men marched up to the Walls, and upbraided *Otho*'s upon the Ramparts, calling them Players, Dancers, idle Spectators of *Pythian* and *Olympick* Games; but Novices, and unpractiſed in the Art of War; mean Souls, that triumphed in the Beheading of *Galba*, a naked old Man, but were not very forward to look their Enemies bravely in the Face. Which Reproaches ſo inflamed them, that they fell at *Spurina*'s Feet, entreated him to head them, and aſſured him no Enterprize ſhould be too difficult for them. Whereupon when *Vitellius*'s Forces gave a vigorous Attack to the Town, the Beſieged bravely repulſed them, and by a mighty Slaughter kept Poſſeſſion of one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities in *Italy*.

Beſides, it was obſerved, that *Otho*'s Officers were much more inoffenſive, both towards the Publick and every private Man, than Thoſe of *Vitellius*; among whom was *Cecina*, a Man not only diſagreeable in Speech and Addreſs, but monſtrous and

and ſingular, of a Gigantick Stature, and always dreſſed in Tunick and Breeches, after the manner of the *Gauls*, even whilſt he converſed with the *Romans*. His Wife too with a magnificent Equipage of Attendants on Horſeback, moved with the Army. On the other hand, *Fabius Valens*, the other General, was ſo covetous, that neither the Spoil of his Enemies, nor the Contributions of his Friends could ſatisfie him. That he might have time to raiſe Money, he marched ſo ſlowly, that he could not be preſent at the firſt Engagement. It is true *Cecina* is blamed by Some for falling on before *Fabius* could join him, that he might have no Partner in the Glory of the Victory: This Action of *Cecina* had in it a great many Faults of leſſer Conſequence; but his unſeaſonable engaging had almoſt quite broken the Meaſures of his own Party.

When he found himſelf beat off at *Placentia*, he Beſieged *Cremona*, a large and rich City. In the mean time *Annius Gallus* marched to join *Spurina* at *Placentia*; but having Intelligence that the Siege was raiſed, and that *Cremona* was inveſted, he haſtened to its Relief, and encamped juſt by the Enemy, where he was daily reinforced. Now *Cecina* had poſted a ſtrong Party of Foot in the Defiles, commanding the Horſe to advance, and if the Enemy ſhould charge them, then to make a ſlow Retreat, and ſo draw them into an Ambuſh; but his Stratagem was diſcovered to *Celſus* by ſome Deſerters, who fell upon them with the Horſe, but advanced ſo cautiouſly, that he circumvented and ſcattered the Ambuſcade; and if the Legions he had detached from the Camp had come up ſoon enough to ſuſtain the Horſe, *Cecina*'s whole Army, in all appearance, had been totally routed; (1) but

(1) *Tacitus* tells us that this *Paulinus* was naturally ſlow, and unreſolved, that he choſe rather o owe his Safety to his Conduct, than

Paulinus moving too ſlowly, was accuſed of more Caution than was neceſſary, or indeed conſiſtent with the common Rules of War. So that the Soldiers incenſed *Otho* againſt him, accuſed him of Treachery, pretended the Victory was in their Power, and that if it was not compleat, it was owing to the Miſmanagement of their General. Now *Otho* did not ſo much believe theſe Accuſations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore ſent his Brother *Titianus*, with *Proculus*, the Captain of his Guards, to the Army, where the latter was General in reality, and the former but in appearance. *Celſus* and *Paulinus* had the Title of Friends and Counſellors, but not the leaſt Authority in things of any Moment. At the ſame time there were nothing but Heats amongſt the Enemy, eſpecially where *Valens* Commanded; for They being informed of what happened at the Ambuſcade, were inraged becauſe they were not permitted to be preſent to ſave the Lives of ſeveral brave Men who dyed in that Action. *Valens* being apprehenſive of his Life, found it ſo difficult to lay the preſent Storm, that he was forced to quit the

than the Victory to Hazard, and charges him with two material Overſights on this Occaſion; the Firſt was, inſtead of ſounding the Charge, and ſupporting his Cavalry by falling briskly upon *Cecina*, he ſpent his time in filling up the Trenches, and levelling the Ground, that he might enlarge his Battalions, thinking it too early to begin to conquer 'till he had provided againſt being conquered. This gave the Enemy time to retire into ſome Vineyards, from whence they renewed the Charge, and killed the Foremoſt of the *Prætorian* Bands, among whom was King *Epiphanes*, who received a mortal Wound as he was fighting with great Courage and Bravery. The Second was, his not making a right uſe of the Diſorder the Enemy were in, and cauſing a Retreat to be ſounded very unſeaſonably. It is incumbent on a General to act with Prudence, and to truſt as little to Hazard as poſſible; but even Prudence itſelf requires him to lay immediate Hold on every Opportunity offered by Fortune, a Diety too ſlippery to allow much Room for Deliberation.

Camp,

Camp, and join *Cecina*. About this time *Otho* came to *Bebriacum* near *Cremona*, and called a Council of War, where *Proculus* and *Titianus* declared for giving Battel, both becauſe the Soldiers were fluſhed with their late Succeſs, and leſt, by attempting nothing, they ſhould grow enervated, and alſo becauſe *Vitellius* was ſuddenly expected out of *Gaul*. But *Paulinus* was of Opinion that the Enemy's whole Force was preſent, and that there was no Body of Reſerve behind; but that *Otho*, if he would not be too precipitate, might expect a Reinforcement out of *Myſia* and *Pannonia*, not inferior to thoſe Troops that were then preſent. He thought it probable too, that the Soldiers who were then in Heart before they were joined, would be more ſo, when the Forces were all come up. Beſides, the deferring Battel could not be inconvenient to Them who were ſufficiently provided with all Neceſſaries: But the Others being in an Enemy's Country, muſt needs be exceedingly ſtraitened in a little time.

Marius Celſus was of *Paulinus*'s Opinion: *Annius Gallus* being abſent, and under the Surgeon's Hands through a Fall from his Horſe, was conſulted by Letter, and adviſed *Otho* to ſtay for thoſe Legions that were marching from *Myſia*; but after all, the Opinion of Thoſe, who declared for a Battel, prevailed.

There are ſeveral Reaſons given for this Determination, but the moſt apparent is This; that the Emperor's Guards not reliſhing the ſtrict Military Diſcipline they were then under, and longing for the Diverſions and Shews of *Rome*, would not be Commanded, but were eager for a Battel, imagining that upon the firſt Onſet they ſhould carry all before them. But *Otho* Himſelf ſeemed doubtful and irreſolute, being bred up effeminately, and not uſed even to the thoughts of Danger; and there-

fore he was ſo uneaſie at the apprehenſion of it, that he ſhut his Eyes, and, like one going to leap from a Precipice, left every thing to Fortune.

This is the Account *Secundus* the Orator, his Secretary, gives of the Matter; but Others ſay it was propoſed that the Armies on both ſides ſhould meet, and if there was any probability of their being Unanimous, they ſhould proceed to chuſe one of the moſt experienced Officers that was preſent; if not, they ſhould convene a Senate, and inveſt Them ſolely with the Power of Election. And it is not improbable that neither of theſe reputed Emperors had Intereſt enough (1) among the more thinking and intelligent part of the Soldiers to prevent ſuch a Deſign.

For what could be more odious and unreaſonable, than that a civilized People ſhould fall out and deſtroy one another, as in the time of *Sylla* and *Marius*, and *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and ſacrifice the Empire for no other reaſon than to ſatisfie the Gluttony and Intemperance of *Vitellius*, or the Looſeneſs and Effeminacy of *Otho*? It is thought that *Celſus*, upon ſuch Reflections, protracted the time in order to an Accommodation; and that *Otho* puſhed on things to an extremity to prevent

(1) They could not indeed have Intereſt enough to prevent it among Men of Uprightneſs and Integrity, who deſired nothing more ardently than to make a Change of War for Peace, and to part with two bad Emperors for the ſake of One good one. But, as *Tacitus* well obſerved, *Paulinus* was too wiſe a Man to imagine that the Soldiers, who had voluntarily kindled up a Civil War, would be for extinguiſhing a Fire of their own raiſing, for the ſake of Peace, in a Age of ſo much Depravity and Corruption; nor that two Armies ſo different in Manners, Language, and Intereſt ſhould ever come to agree upon a Point of ſuch Importance. Beſides, the Leaders in Both being deeply involved in Debt, and anſwerable for Crimes without Number, would take Care to make choice of ſuch an Emperor as was moſt like Themſelves, and who ſhould be obliged to Them for his Election.

it.

it. (1) He indeed returned to *Brixillum*, but very indiſcreetly, both becauſe he withdrew himſelf from Thoſe who were cordially his Friends, and becauſe he weakened the Army, by detaching ſome of his beſt Troops for his Horſe and Foot Guards.

About this Juncture there happened a Skirmiſh on the *Po*. As *Cecina* was laying a Bridge over it, the Emperor's Forces fell upon him, and where they could not advance, they threw ſome certain Compoſition of Wild-fire into his Boats, which, by the help of the Wind, much annoyed his Men; for the Smoke riſing, and the Flame breaking out upon it, they leaped into the River, overſet their Boats, and were ſhamefully at the Mercy of their Enemies.

In the mean time the *Germans* charged *Otho*'s Gladiators upon a ſmall Iſland in the River, and routed them. Whereupon the Emperor's Forces, in Quarters at *Bebriacum*, marched under *Proculus*, to a Place fifty Furlongs off, where a Camp was marked out; but ſo unadviſedly, that the Soldiers ſuffered extreamly for want of Water, though it was in the Spring time, and in a Country full of running Streams. The next Day there was a Deſign of moving about a hundred Furlongs nearer the Enemy, but This was contradicted by *Paulinus*, who thought it more adviſable to keep their Poſt, than upon a Fatigue to engage Thoſe who had leiſure to draw up in Order, whilſt They Themſelves were encumber'd with their Train and Baggage.

(1) When a Fight was reſolved upon, it was debated in Council if the Emperor ſhould be preſent in the Action, or retire. *Paulinus* and *Marius Celſus* dared not oppoſe his Departure, for fear it ſhould be thought they had a mind to expoſe his Perſon. Whereupon he retired to *Brixillum*, which was the Cauſe of his Ruin, as *Plutarch* obſerves in this Place.

As

As the Generals were arguing about this Matter, a *Numidian* Courier came from *Otho*, (1) with Orders immediately to give Battel; and accordingly they all conſented and moved. As ſoon as *Cecina* had notice, he was ſurprized, and quitted his Poſt on the River to haſten to the Camp. In the mean time *Valens* ordered his Men to their Arms, and gave the Signal to Engage, poſting his beſt Horſe in the Front 'till they were all drawn up. At firſt *Otho*'s foremoſt Troops were of Opinion, upon a groundleſs Rumour, that the Officers on the other ſide would come over; and accordingly upon their firſt approach, they ſaluted them by the familiar Title of Fellow-Soldiers; but the Others returned the Compliments with Anger and diſdainful Words, which not only diſheartened them, but alſo gave occaſion to the reſt to ſuſpect their Fidelity.

This cauſed a Confuſion at the very firſt Onſet; immediately all manner of Order was at an end, and the lumber of the Baggage, as well as the Nature of the Ground, did very much contribute towards it; the Ditches and Inequalities were ſo many, that they were forced to break their Ranks, and Fight without Order, and in ſmall Parties. There were but two Legions, one of *Vitellius*'s, called *The Ravenous*, and another of *Otho*'s, called *The Aſſiſtant*, that kept the Plain, and fought it out. The Latter were ſinewy and vigorous, but raw in the Trade of War; the Former were experienced, but battered and declining. Where-

(1) Such Orders as Theſe, ſent by Princes who are at a diſtance, requiring their Generals peremptorily to engage without loſs of time, are commonly moſt fatal. Of This we have Examples innumerable; and the Reaſon is very obvious. No Man can ſee where he is not; it is impoſſible for Him to make a right Choice of the Ground, the Opportunity, and friendly Moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the moſt able Commanders who are upon the Spot.

fore *Otho*'s Legion charged briskly, broke the firſt Rank, with great Slaughter, and took an Eagle; whilſt the Other, full of Rage and Shame, returned the Charge, ſlew *Orphidius*, an old and experienced Officer, and took ſeveral Standards. *Varus Alphenus*, with his *Belgians*, who are the Natives of the Iſle of the *Rhine*, and are eſteemed the beſt of the *German* Horſe, fell upon the Gladiators, who had a great Reputation for their Valour and manner of Fighting hand to hand. Some of the latter did their Duty, but the greateſt part of them made towards the River, and falling in with the Cohorts, were cut off. But none of them behaved themſelves ſo ill as the *Prætorian* Bands; who, without ever Facing the Enemy, ran away, broke through their own Body that ſtood, and put them into Diſorder. Notwithſtanding This, many of them bore down all that ſtood before them, and forced their way to the Camp through the very middle of their Conquerors.

But neither *Proculus* nor *Paulinus* durſt take the ſame way, out of an apprehenſion of the Soldiers, who had already charged the Miſcarriage upon their Commanders. *Anius Gallus* received into the City and rallied the ſcattered Parties, and encouraged them with an aſſurance that the Defeat was not total, but that on the contrary, the Victory was, in ſome meaſure, on their ſide. *Marius Celſus* called a Council of War, and propoſed, *That Regard ſhould be had to the Publick Safety; pretending that if* Otho *had the leaſt Humanity, he would not, after ſuch an Expence of* Roman *Blood, attempt any thing further; and eſpecially ſince* Cato *and* Scipio *(though the Liberty of* Rome *was at Stake) were accuſed of being too prodigal of ſo many brave Mens Lives as were loſt in* Africa, *rather than ſubmit to* Cæſar, *after the Battel of* Pharſalia *had gone againſt them. For though all Perſons are equally ſubject to*

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the Caprice of Fortune; yet all good Men have one Advantage ſhe cannot deny, which is This, To act reaſonably under Misfortunes.

Theſe Propoſals were accepted of amongſt the Officers, who ſounded the private Soldiers, and found them deſirous of a Ceſſation; therefore *Titianus* urged that Commiſſioners ſhould be named in order to a Treaty; and accordingly it was agreed that the Conference ſhould be managed by *Celſus* and *Gallus* on one part, and *Valens* with *Cecina* on the Other. As the two firſt were upon their Expedition, they met ſome Centurions, who told them the Army of the Enemy was marching for *Bebriacum*, and that They Themſelves were deputed by their Generals to carry Propoſals for an Accommodation. *Celſus* approved of the matter, and prevailed upon them to return with him to *Cecina*. Upon his Approach he was in ſome danger from the Out-Guards, who were ſome of the Horſe that had ſuffered at the Ambuſh: For as ſoon as they ſaw him they hollowed, and were coming down upon him; but the Centurions interpoſed, and ſome of the Officers commanded them to deſiſt. In the mean time *Cecina* came up to inform himſelf of the Tumult, which he diſperſed; and after a Compliment to *Celſus*, went with him to *Bebriacum*.

Titianus grew diſſatisfied he had propoſed a Mediation, and therefore poſted his beſt Men upon the Walls, requiring their Fellow-Soldiers to ſtand by them; but when *Cecina* appeared, and offered his Hand, there was a total Suſpenſion of Arms; his Men were ſaluted from the Wall, the Gates opened, both Parties united, and inſtead of Acts of Hoſtility, there was nothing but mutual Congratulations, every one taking the Oaths, and ſubmitting to *Vitellius*.

This

This is the Account which Many that were preſent at the Battel give of it, yet own, the Diſorder they were in would not give them leave to be clear in every Particular.

As I went afterward over the Field of Battel, *Meſtrius Florus*, a Perſon of Conſular Dignity, ſhewed me an old Man (1) who in his Youth had, with many Others of the ſame Age with Himſelf, been forced to bear Arms under *Otho:* He likewiſe told me, that as he went that way after the Battel, he obſerved a vaſt heap of Bodies piled up after an odd and unuſual manner; but could not gueſs at the meaning of it Himſelf, nor hear any Other give a tolerable Account of it. Indeed in Civil Wars it generally happens, that fewer are taken Priſoners than are killed in Fight; for ſuch Captives are of no Advantage to the Conquerors: But why the Carcaſſes ſhould be heaped up after that manner is not eaſie to determine.

At firſt *Otho* (as it frequently happens) met with uncertain Accounts of the Iſſue of the Battel. But when ſome of the wounded Soldiers, who

(1) One may without any great Abſurdity conclude from this Paſſage that the Life of *Otho* was not written by *Plutarch*, but by one of his Sons. For at the only time when *Plutarch* could have paſſed over the Field of Battel, the young Man, who was in that Action, could not be very old. That Battel was fought *An. Dom.* LXIX. Now it is certain that *Plutarch* retired into his own Country towards the End of *Domitian*'s Reign, when he was about forty four or forty five Years of Age, *An. Dom.* XCIII. or XCIV. The Soldier mentioned here, who was very young when he was in that Action, could not be an old Man twenty four or twenty five Years after, when *Plutarch* returned to *Chæronea*, and this cannot be underſtood of ſome other Voyage he made afterwards into *Italy*, becauſe it is well known that after his firſt Retreat he never removed, but ended his Days in his native City. This muſt therefore relate to a Voyage made ſome Years after by one of his Sons, and not by *Plutarch*. From whence it follows that theſe two Lives were not written by Him, who was the Author of the Parallels. If to This we add the Difference we find in the Style, we muſt allow that there are juſt Grounds for this Conjecture.

returned

returned from the Field, informed him rightly of it, it is not to be imagined what Pains his Friends took to ſupport him under his Concern. But the Fidelity of ſome of the Soldiers exceeds all belief; they would neither go over to the Conqueror to make Terms for themſelves, nor quit the Conquered in his extremity of ill Fortune; but, on the contrary, crowded his Gates, and gave him the Title of Emperor. As ſoon as he appeared, their Acclamations were ſuch as if he had triumphed. They kiſſed his Hand, (1) fell at his Feet, and with all the moving Language of Tears and Perſuaſion, entreated him to ſtand by them, and to accept of that Duty and Fidelity which could never expire but with their laſt Breath; ſo urgent was their zealous Importunity: But above all, the affectionate Reſolution of an obſcure and private Soldier is moſt memorable, who, after he had drawn his Sword, addreſſed himſelf thus to *Otho*: *By This*, Cæſar, *judge our Fidelity; for there's not a Man amongſt us but would ſtrike thus to ſerve Thee*; and ſo ſtabbed himſelf. Notwithſtanding This, *Otho* ſtood ſerene and unſhaken, and with Looks full of Conſtancy and Compoſure, ſpoke thus:

This Day, my Fellow-Soldiers, which gives me ſuch Proofs of your Affection, is preferable even to That on which you ſaluted me Emperor; deny me not therefore the ſatisfaction of laying down my Life for the Preſervation of ſo many brave Men; in This at leaſt let me be worthy of the Empire, that is, to dye for it. I am of Opinion the Enemy has neither gained

(1) The Expreſſion in the Text is very ſingular, and remarkable, of which I believe we can meet with no Example, ἐγένοντο τροπαῖα, Word for Word *they became Trophies*, meaning that they fell at his Feet, as we ſee Figures expreſſed in an humble ſupplicating Poſture placed at the Feet of Trophies. It is the Expreſſion of a juvenile Writer. *Plutarch* would not have ventured upon ſo bold a Figure.

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an entire nor a deciſive Victory; I have Advice that the Myſian *Army is not far off; that the* Aſian, Syrian, *and the* Ægyptian *Forces are near the* Adriatick; *that the Legions in* Judæa *declare for us; the Senate is alſo in our Power, as well as the Wives and Children of our Enemies: But alas! it is not with* Hannibal, *with* Pyrrhus, *with the* Cimbri *we fight; but it is Eagle againſt Eagle, and* Rome *againſt* Rome; *and* Italy *bleeds both through the Victors and the Vanquiſhed, whilſt even He that Triumps ought to Mourn: Believe me therefore,* (1) *I think it not ſo glorious to Reign, as to dye for my Country; nor can I ſee how* Rome *can gain ſo much by my Victory, as by my Death, ſince it is That muſt ſeal our Peace, and ſecure* Italy *from ſuch another unhappy Day.*

As ſoon as he had done, he reſolved againſt all manner of Perſuaſion, and taking leave of his Friends and the Senators that were preſent, he writ to Thoſe who were abſent, and ſent them Paſports, ordering that they ſhould not be ſtopped at any Place in their Journey: Then he ſent for young *Cocceius*, his Brother's Son, and bid him be in no apprehenſion of *Vitellius*, whoſe Family he had hitherto treated with the ſame Tenderneſs as his Own; and alſo told him that his Adoption

(1) Indeed nothing can be more glorious in a Man than to ſacrifice his Life for the Good of his Country. But I queſtion whether every Body will judge ſo favourably of this Action in *Otho*. I am certain that Many will be ſurprized to find a Prince, who had ſo promiſing an After-game, an Army on the March out of *Myſia*, the Forces of *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, and *Syria*, together with the Troops that were than carrying on the War in *Judæa*, and, what is ſtill more conſiderable, who had the Affections of ſo many thouſands, determined to live and dye by him, ſhould chuſe rather to kill himſelf than make another Puſh, and once more try his Fortune. One would think his private Intereſt, the Publick Intereſt of *Rome*, and his own Glory, ſhould have warned him not to act ſo weak a Part, and give himſelf up to Deſpair. But This Queſtion I leave to be diſcuſſed by better Judges.

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was deferred in regard to his Safety, ſince *Cæſar* could have been glad his Nephew had ſhared with him the good Fortune of a Conqueror, but not in the Infamy and Diſgrace of one that was Vanquiſhed: Then ſaid he, Take notice, my Son, of theſe my laſt Words, *That you neither too negligently forget, nor too zealouſly remember, that* Cæſar *was your Uncle.* By and by he heard a Tumult amongſt the Soldiers at the Door, who were treating the Senators with Menaces, for offering to withdraw themſelves from the Emperor's Preſence; upon which, out of regard to their Safety, he appeared again, but not with a gentle Aſpect, and in a perſuading manner as before; but with a Countenance that diſcovered Indignation and Authority, he commanded ſuch as were diſorderly to leave the Place.

After he had quenched his Thirſt in the Evening with a little Water, he took two Daggers, and when he had ſufficiently examined their Points, he laid one of them down and hid the other in his Sleeve; then called his Servants, and graciouſly diſtributed ſome Money amongſt them, but not inconſiderately, nor like one too laviſh of what was not his Own; for to Some he gave more, to Others leſs, moſt judiciouſly diſtinguiſhing every one's particular Merit. When This was done he diſmiſſed them, and paſſed the reſt of the Night in ſo profound a Sleep, that the Officers of his Bed-chamber heard him ſnore. In the Morning he called for one he had infranchiſed, whom he had appointed to attend the Senators, and bid him bring him an account if they were ſafe; being informed they were all well, and wanted nothing, *Go then,* ſaid he, *and ſhew your ſelf to the Soldiers, leſt they ſhould cut you to pieces for being acceſſary to my Death.* As ſoon as he was gone, *Otho* directed his Dagger with both his Hands to his Breaſt, killed

led himſelf (1) at one Stroke, and with one Groan expired.

Thoſe who waited without heard him groan, and lamented him in ſo paſſionate a manner, that neither Soldiers nor Citizens could forbear weeping; the mournful Cries of the Former were immediately heard at the Gates, accuſing themſelves with the deepeſt Concern that they had been ſo negligent in looking after that Life which was laid

(1) This was that Stroke of Deſpair his Friends had laboured to prevent, by remonſtrating to him that it was a piece of Cowardice thus to lay violent Hands on Himſelf. *Plotius Firmus*, General of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt Terms, that it was more couragious to bear up under Misfortunes than ſhrink from them; that the Bold and Brave retained Hope even in Defiance of Fortune, whilſt the Baſe and Cowardly took Refuge in Death, out of Fear and Deſpaire. *Majore animo tolerare, adverſa quam relinqui; fortes & ſtrenuos etiam contra Fortunam inſiſtere Spei, timidos & ignavos ad deſperationem formidine properare.* On this Occaſion I cannot but wonder at the Impiety of *Lipſius* the Commentator, who in his Remarks upon that Paſſage in *Tacitus* has the following Preſumptuous Reflection. *Theſe are the Arms made uſe of by the Enemies of the* Stoicks, *againſt which I could arm myſelf with an impregnable Buckler, if Religion did not forbid me.* After which he relates, ſeveral Sayings of the Ancients much to the ſame Senſe with This of *Plotius Firmus*, and among Others That of *Cæſar*, *Animi eſt iſta mollities, non Virtus, inopiam pauliſper ferre non poſſe. Qui ſe morti ultro offerant facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant.* And That of *Quintus Curtius*, *Fortium virorum eſt magis mortem contemnere, quam odiſſe vitam. Sæpe tædio laboris ad utilitatem ſui compelluntur ignavi*; and then he adds, Theſe have all drunk out of *Ariſtotle*'s Cup, who has this maxim in his Morals τὸ δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φεύγοντα πενίαν, ἢ ἔρωτα, ἢ τὶ λυπερὸν ἀνανδρέιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δειλῶ. *The Man that kills himſelf becauſe he is oppreſſed with Poverty, diſappointed in Love, or to get rid of ſome other grievous Calamity, is not a Man of Bravery, but a Coward.* If Theſe have all drunk out of *Ariſtotle*'s Cup, we may ſay that *Ariſtotle* filled that Cup out of the Fountain of Truth. But This is not all. *Lipſius* concludes his Remark with theſe two Words *Heu! taceo.* which declare an obſtinate Adherence to this Maxim of the *Stoicks*, notwithſtanding what Religion teacheth to the contrary; it is the forced Silence of a Man who unwillingly holds his Tongue, and thinks himſelf capable to diſpute with the Almighty. How fatal is ſuch Learning! how peſtilent his Doctrine!

down to preſerve Theirs. Nor would a Man of them quit the Body to ſecure themſelves againſt the approaching Enemy; but having raiſed the Funeral Pile, and magnificently attired the Imperial Relicks, they bore them thither with the ſatisfactory Pride of doing their laſt Duty. Some of them kneeled and kiſſed his Wound, Others graſped his Hand, and Many who were at diſtance paid him Divine Honours. Several, after the Pile was lighted, ſacrificed their Lives, tho' neither (as it is believed) in return of perſonal Obligations from Him, nor out of Apprehenſion of ill Uſage from *Vitellius*; for certainly no Tyrant did ever ſo violently contend to command Others, as Theſe coveted to obey *Otho*. Nor was their Love greater to the Memory of the Dead Emperor, than their Hate to the Living one, as will be ſhown in its proper place.

They built him a Tomb, which was not to be envyed either for the Statelineſs of its Structure, or the Pomp of its Inſcription. I my ſelf have ſeen it at *Brixillum*; it ſeemed very plain, and the Epitaph was only this:

To the Memory of Marcus Otho.

He died in his thirty ſeventh Year, after a ſhort Reign of about three Months; his Death being as much applauded as his Life was cenſured; for He who in ſome things lived like *Nero*, has left this Character behind him, *None ever died like* Otho. The Soldiers could never forgive *Pollio*, an Officer of the Guards, for adviſing them to ſwear Allegiance immediately to *Vitellius*; but when they underſtood that ſome of the Senators were upon the ſpot, they only addreſſed *Verginius Rufus* with an Offer of the Government; and moving in one Body to his Houſe in Arms, they firſt intreated him,

him, and then urged him to accept of the Empire, or at leaſt to be their Mediator. But He that refuſed to Command them when Conquerors, thought it ridiculous to pretend to it now they were defeated; beſides, he was unwilling to treat with the *Germans*, with whom he had no good Correſpondence, and therefore ſlipped away through a private Door. As ſoon as the Soldiers perceived This, they owned *Vitellius*, ſo got their Pardon, and ſerved under *Cecina*.

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